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NATIONAL CONVENTION

OF THE

SOCIALIST PARTY

HELD AT

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS, MAY 1 TO 6, 1904

Stenographic Report by
WILSON E. McDERMUT
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

Edited by
WILLIAM MAILLY
National Secretary

ISSUED BY THE
NATIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY

NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS
269 Dearborn Street, CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

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EUGENE V. DEBS

Nominated by the Socialist Party for President
of the United States, at Chicago, Ill.,
May 5th, 1904:

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Kerwin Bros., Printers, Chicago

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Eugene V. Debs



EUGENE V. DEBS, Socialist Party candidate for President, was born in Terre Haute, Ind., in 1855, and at the age of 15 years began work as a railway employe in the Vandalia railroad car shops. Afterwards he worked as fireman on a freight engine for several years and became a member of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen. He was made editor of the Brotherhood magazine in 1877 and three years afterward he was chosen general secretary and treasurer, a position which he occupied for thirteen years, resigning it in 1893 to organize the American Railway Union, which was intended to unite the railway workers of America in one great organization.

Within a year the Great Northern Railway strike was fought and won. Through this contest the wages of thousands of workers from St. Paul to the Pacific coast were saved from reduction and the railway managers awoke to the fact that they had a new power with which to grapple.

In May, 1894, the famous Pullman strike occurred. Unable to affect a settlement by arbitration, the A. R. U. took up the matter in the national convention in session at Chicago in June. As a result a boycott was declared against the Pullman cars, to take effect June 26. Within a few days the entire railroad system of the country extending from Chicago West and South to the Gulf and Pacific coast was tied up and the greatest labor war in the country's history was on.

On July 2, 1894, Judges Woods and Grosscup, at Chicago, issued a sweeping "omnibus" injunction. Mr. Debs and associates were arrested for contempt of court, on alleged violation of the injunction. They were tried in September, but Judge Woods did not render a verdict until December, when he condemned Mr. Debs to six months' imprisonment, and his associates to three. The case was carried to the Supreme Court, which sustained the lower court, and in May, 1895, the imprisonment in Woodstock jail began. The term expired on

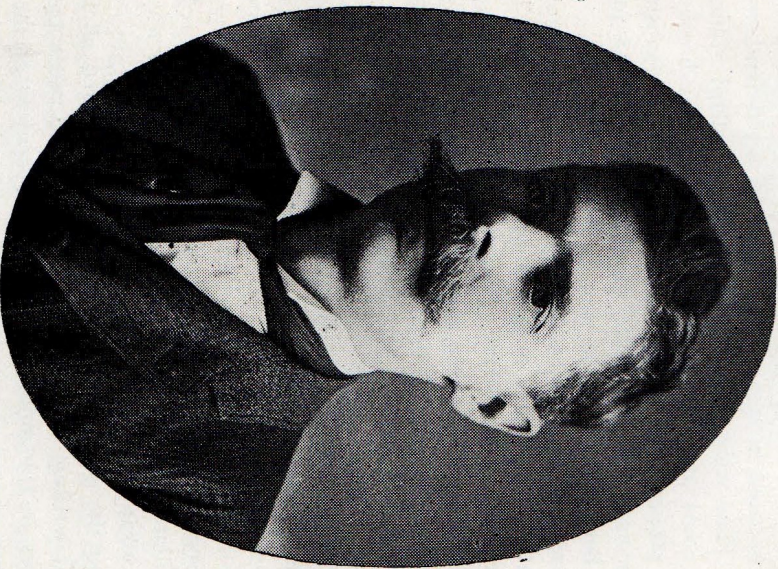
November 22, 1895, and on the evening of that day the prisoner was tendered a reception in Chicago, the like of which that city had never seen.

Debs and associates were also indicted and placed on trial for conspiracy, and the trial continued until the evidence of the prosecution had all been heard, but suddenly, when the defence began to testify, a juror was taken ill during a temporary adjournment and the trial abruptly terminated in spite of all efforts of the defendants to have it continued. They were anxious to bring the General Managers' Association into court and show who were the real law breakers and destroyers of property. An acquittal by a jury upon substantially the same charge as that upon which they were imprisoned for contempt would have been fatal to Judge Woods.

On January 1, 1897, Debs issued a circular to the members of the A. R. U., entitled "Present Conditions and Future Duties," in which he reviewed the political, industrial, and economic conditions, and came out boldly for Socialism. Among other things he said: "The issue is Socialism vs. Capitalism. I am for Socialism because I am for humanity. The time has come to regenerate society—we are on the eve of a universal change."

When the A. R. U. met in national convention in Chicago, in June, 1897, that body was merged into the Social Democracy of America, with Debs as chairman of the National Executive Board. The following year (1898) the Social Democratic Party was started as the result of a split in the Social Democracy. In 1900 Debs was nominated for president as candidate of the Social Democratic Party, which was afterward merged into what is now the Socialist Party.

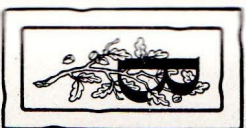
During the past seven years Debs has devoted all his time to lecturing and writing for Socialism, and has also taken part in some notable strikes in the industrial and mining centers of the East and West. He has visited every state during his travels and carried the Socialist message into more places than probably any other man in America.



BEN HANFORD

Nominated by the Socialist Party for Vice-President
of the United States, at Chicago, Ill.,
May 5th, 1904

Ben Hanford



BEN HANFORD, of New York, candidate for Vice-President on the Socialist Party ticket, has long been known as one of the hardest workers in the Socialist movement.

He combines to an exceptional degree the qualities of agitator, speaker and writer, and he is therefore a worthy companion to the presidential candidate, Eugene V. Debs.

Hanford has been a Socialist over ten years and a trades unionist for twice that period. He was born in Cleveland, Ohio, 46 years ago, but began life as a wage worker in a country printing office in Iowa. He shortly afterward went to Chicago, where he joined the International Typographical Union, of which he has been a member ever since. He has worked in printing offices in every city east of the Missouri river.

Hanford became a Socialist in Philadelphia and upon removing to New York in 1892 not only continued his activity as a trades unionist, but threw himself into the Socialist movement with all the intensity and earnestness which has always characterized him.

Although he has never held an office in his union, and has never been a candidate for one, he has answered to the call of duty for the political working class movement several times. In 1898 he was the candidate of the Socialist Labor Party for governor of New York, but leaving that party the following year because of disagreement with its policy, he joined the Social Democratic Party (which is the official name of the Socialist Party in New York state) and in 1900 and 1902 was its candidate for governor. In the latter year the Socialist vote increased from 12,069 to 23,400, giving the party third place on the ballot in that state.

Hanford's writings have become deservedly popular, his "Rail-roading in the United States" winning distinction for its merit and originality. His "Jimmy Higgins" has appealed to all Socialists as a description of a type peculiar to the Socialist movement everywhere.

As a speaker it has been said of him, "Two qualities go to make Hanford a convincing and an inspiring speaker—a burning earnestness, as evident in his daily private life as in his appearance on the platform, and an ability to clothe his thoughts and feelings in the simplest and most direct language, so that no hearer can fail to understand.

"More than this, he is a workingman, a class conscious workingman, in every fiber of his being—living the life of the working class, thinking its thoughts and instinct with its feelings, full of its growing hope and self-reliance, hating class rule with all his soul and despising the sham and meanness and cruelty which are necessary to what is conventionally called 'success.' Thus he speaks for the working class when he speaks from his own experience, and he speaks in the sincere and unmistakable language of his class."

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

National Convention Socialist Party of America

Held in Chicago, Ill., May 1st to 6th, 1904

FIRST DAY'S SESSION

Acknowledgment

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Acknowledgment is herewith
made of services rendered by Com-
rades Charles Dobbs, Secretary of
the Convention, and Charles R.
Martin, Assistant in the National
Office, in editing and otherwise
preparing this report.

WILLIAM MAILLY,
National Secretary.

The National Convention of the Socialist Party of the United States was called to order by National Secretary William Mailly at Brand's Hall, Chicago, Ill., Sunday morning, May 1, 1904, at 10 o'clock. After preliminary announcements regarding railroad fares, hotel accommodations, etc., Secretary Mailly announced that the Committee on Credentials, when selected, would meet for the present in the lodge room on the second floor of the Revere House. The Secretary then read the official call for the convention, and before calling for the election of temporary officers, presented for the use of the chairman a silver gavel, saying: "Before calling for the election of temporary officers for the convention, which I believe will be the next thing in order, I am glad to be able to announce to the convention that the comrades of Wisconsin have presented to the Socialist Party, for the use of the chairman during this convention and succeeding conventions, this gavel, in the name of the Socialist Party of Wisconsin."

The announcement was greeted with applause.

Nominations for temporary chairman were then called for, and James F. Ca-

rey, of Massachusetts, and N. A. Richardson, of California, were placed in nomination. Carey was elected on a rising vote, and on motion of Richardson of California, the selection was made unanimous.

For Secretary, Charles Dobbs of New York was elected without opposition.

The Socialist Singing Society of Chicago then entertained the convention with the "Marseillaise" and other songs and the convention passed to the selection of a Committee on Credentials.

Committee on Credentials

THE CHAIRMAN: The next business in order is the election of a Credentials Committee.

DEL. STANTON (Ohio): I rise to ask this convention a question. Is it the sense of the delegates that a person who sends a congratulatory telegram to a candidate of a party in opposition to the Socialist Party should be recognized as a class-conscious representative of the working class?

THE CHAIRMAN: I desire to state to the delegate that that matter can properly be brought before the Credentials Committee. If any delegate has any objections to any person who may

be applying for admission here, such matters must be brought before the Credentials Committee, and upon report by that committee, settled in this convention. We cannot anticipate who may deposit credentials.

DEL. BANDLOW (Ohio): I understand that it is not a question in regard to any delegate, but it is a question to be settled in this convention whether or not in their estimation any person who sends congratulatory telegrams to political candidates in opposition to the Socialist Party shall be recognized as a class-conscious representative of the working class.

THE CHAIRMAN: The chair desires to state that we are not as yet the regularly organized convention of the Socialist Party. We are in preparation of organization. If the persons present desire to make an expression on that point, upon motion, the chair will have no objection to putting such a motion. But we are not as yet the convention of the Socialist Party because the delegates' credentials have not been received and have not been acted upon. We are yet, so far as being a convention is concerned, nothing more than an assemblage of persons who declare that they are delegates. However, the Chair awaits any action of the convention.

Upon motion of Delegate Work, of Iowa, the convention proceeded to elect

a credentials committee of five members. The motion to make the committee consist of five members was reconsidered after eight delegates had been nominated, and when one of the nominees withdrew it was moved that the committee consist of the seven remaining in nomination. The motion prevailed and the following were declared elected as the Committee on Credentials: Garver (Mo.), Hayes (Ohio), Kronenberg (N.J.), Titus (Wash.), Floaten (Colo.), Bistorius (Wis.), Lee (New York).

By a large majority the delegates present resolved to prohibit smoking during the temporary organization, and the convention proceeded to the election of a Committee on Rules to consist of seven members.

The following delegates accepted nominations for membership of the committee: Penrose (Ark.), Work (Iowa), Will (Kas.), Steadman (Ill.), Bickett (Ohio), Gaylord (Wis.), Taft (Ill.), Slobodin (N.Y.), McFarlan (Mich.), Deutzman (Cal.), Robbins (Cal.).

The ballot was canvassed by four tellers and two judges appointed by the chair, as follows: Beryn (Ill.) and White (Mass), judges, and Steverman (N.Y.), Richardson (Cal.), Floaten (Colo.), and Rose (Miss.), tellers.

Pending the announcement of the result of ballot, recess was taken until two o'clock.

AFTERNOON SESSION

Cleveland, O., May 1, 1904.
Socialist Convention, Brand's Hall.
Heartiest wishes, May celebration.

Bohemian Socialists of Cleveland.

Comrades of the Convention of the Socialist Party of the United States:

The Socialist Saengerbund and the Liedertafel Freiheit of Chicago kindly invite you to attend a social arranged for the benefit of the delegated comrades from the different states at 55 North Clark street, in Trades Union Hall, Tuesday evening at 8 o'clock.

We shall be happy to meet the representatives of the working class at our headquarters at the stated time,

and hope to entertain them in a true fraternal way.

With best wishes, fraternally yours,
Socialist Saengerbund,
Liedertafel Freiheit,
Per O. Gritschke, Secretary.

The invitation of the Saengerbund was accepted upon motion.

Upon motion it was decided to confer upon Comrade Jas. S. Smith, Chicago, full power to select a Sergeant-at-Arms.

Report on Credentials

The Committee on Credentials being ready with a partial report, Chairman Algebon Lee was recognized. Comrade Lee prefaced the reading of the report with the following statement:

"Your Committee on Credentials has passed upon all of the regular and uncontested credentials presented to it. I will first state that in regard to the decision of the National Committee that no States should be entitled to representation which were in arrears beyond a certain time in payment of dues, the Credentials Committee voted not to consider this matter, but to refer it back to the convention without recommendation.

"The committee heard certain contests. There was a protest brought against the seating of J. Stitt Wilson as a delegate from California upon a charge presented by Delegate Stanton, of Ohio, in writing, that Comrade Wilson had sent a congratulatory telegram to Mayor Samuel Jones of Toledo, on the occasion of his election, and that this was such a violation of Socialistic ethics that it should debar him from taking part in the deliberations of this convention. Comrade Wilson appeared before the Committee and made the statement that he did not send that telegram; that he did not authorize its sending; that he did not have anything to do with it or know anything about its having been sent until a considerable time afterwards, but that it was sent by Mr. Nelson, of St. Louis, with whom he had been in conversation before that time in regard to this and other matters; and that he believed that Mr. Nelson acted in good faith in sending it and using his (Wilson's) name along with his own. But that as a matter of fact he did not authorize it, did not know of it, and had the known of Mr. Nelson's intention to

sign his name to such a telegram would not have allowed it. Upon this statement of Comrade Wilson, there being no further evidence or statements of fact upon the one side or upon the other, the committee unanimously voted to seat Comrade Wilson as a delegate from California. (Applause.)

"There was a further question raised in regard to Comrade Wilson's seat and the seat of Comrade M. W. Wilkins as delegates from California. The State Secretary in his report to the National Secretary had included J. Stitt Wilson in the list of delegates and had included M. W. Wilkins in the list of alternates. He had issued regular credentials as delegate to Comrade Wilson, and had issued credentials as delegate, with the word 'delegate' underscored, in writing to Comrade Wilkins. It was explained that this arose out of a certain irregularity in the districting of the state, the delegates there being elected by districts. There being two on the list of delegates from California who are not present, and at least one of whom, Comrade Helfenstein, we are sure will not be present, the committee recommended that both Comrade Wilson and Comrade Wilkins be seated as delegates and ordered that delegates' badges be issued to them. (Applause.)

"In two or three cases the delegates were unable to present their credentials through some irregularity of the mails, their credentials not having reached them in time. In these cases, the committee having sufficient evidence, as they deemed, of the fact that they were regularly elected, have recommended that the delegates be seated. I have here the list of the delegates and alternates who were recommended to be seated, and if it is the pleasure of the house I will read the list.

"In regard to South Dakota, the committee decided that though that state was by its membership entitled to only two delegates, yet it had so increased its membership that it was well entitled to three, and the committee desired that Comrade Lovett of South Dakota shall be admitted as the third delegate, yet it understood it had no authority to seat more delegates from any state than the number to which that state was entitled under the exact terms of the call.

"The committee finds it necessary to hold a further session to consider con-

tests and irregularities, and it was voted that as soon as the convention has disposed of the present report of the committee on credentials the committee will then hold another session at once at a place to be announced from this platform, and any delegates who are interested in any cases of contests and wish to come before the committee may attend it at that time."

List of Delegates

The Chairman of the Committee then read a list of those entitled to seats in the convention, as follows:

ALABAMA—F. X. Waldhorst.
ARKANSAS—Wells Lefever, Wm. Penrose.
CALIFORNIA—J. L. Cobb, P. Deitzman, M. W. Wilkins, Paul H. Keller, H. M. McKee, J. J. Patton, N. A. Richardson, H. B. Weaver, Bertha Wilkins, J. Stitt Wilson, G. W. Woodbey.
ALTERNATE, Sam Robbins.
COLORADO—Wm. Ash, A. H. Floaten, Ida Crouch Hazlett, Guy E. Miller, R. A. Southworth.
CONNECTICUT—Cornelius Mahoney, Eugene Toomey.
IDAHO—E. B. Autt.
ILLINOIS—B. Berlyn, Sam Block, Chas. L. Breckon, Jas. H. Brower, E. E. Carr, John Collins, Wm. Dalton, A. W. Mance, Theo. Meyer, Thos. J. Morgan, J. E. Phelan, D. M. Smith, Jas. S. Smith, A. M. Simons, S. Stedman, M. H. Tatt, E. Untermann. Alternate, A. Harrack.
INDIANA—Wm. Barrett, Eugene V. Debs, Matt. Hollenberger, James Oneal.
IOWA—John W. Bennett, J. J. Jacobsen, Carrie L. Johnson, John M. Work.
KANSAS—Mrs. E. G. Cogswell, Mrs. Luella R. Kraybill, Walter T. Mills, Thomas E. Will. Alternates, W. S. Neal, W. R. Parks.
KENTUCKY—Thomas McGrady, A. L. Nagel. Alternate, F. R. Markert.
LOUISIANA—Wilbur Putnam.
MARYLAND—Wm. A. Toole.
ALTERNATE, S. L. V. Young.
MASSACHUSETTS—James F. Carey, Herman Brandt, J. A. Keown, Geo. E. Littlefield, H. A. Gibbs, John J. Kelly, A. B. Outram, Dan A. White. Alternate, Alex. Hayman.
MICHIGAN—Wm. L. Benessi, C. J. Lamb, J. H. McFarlan, John A. C. Mention.
MINNESOTA—M. A. Brattland, A. N. Gilbertson, S. M. Holman, Nicholas

Klein, Thos. H. Lucas. Alternates, Ed. Bosky, E. B. Ford.
MISSOURI—E. T. Behrens, Wm. M. Brandt, Fred H. Dillo, W. L. Gayer, G. A. Hoehn, Carl Knecht, Caleb Lipscomb, T. E. Palmer, Geo. H. Turner, Hugh J. Raible, J. H. Rathbun.
MONTANA—C. C. McHugh.
NEBRASKA—W. E. Clark, William Mailly. Alternates, J. W. Hawkins, P. J. Hyland.
NEW HAMPSHIRE—James S. Murray.

NEW JERSEY—Peter Burrows, Wm. Glanz, Carl Kronenberg, W. L. Oswald, Charles Ufert, David Rubinow. Alternate, G. H. Strobell.
NEW YORK—Warren Atkinson, C. P. Bush, Wm. Butscher, A. P. Byron-Curtis, Chas. Dobbs, Wm. Ehret, P. J. Flannigan, Julius Gerber, Ben Hanford, Geo. D. Herron, Morris Hillquit, Alexander Jonas, Algernon Lee, Frank Sieverman, H. L. Slobodin, John Spargo, Otto Wegener, H. W. Wessling. Alternates, Gustave Dressler, Gaylord Wilshire.

NORTH DAKOTA—Tomnes Thams.
OHIO—Robert Bandlow, C. A. Bickett, D. F. Farrell, Martin Goss, Max S. Hayes, W. A. Stanton, W. L. Webster, C. E. Willey.
OKLAHOMA—J. V. Kolachney, A. S. Loudermilk, J. E. Snyder. Alternates, Roy Hayes, A. W. Renshaw.
OREGON—Irene M. Smith.
PENNSYLVANIA—Hugh Ayres, J. Mahon Barnes, Geo. W. Bacon, Innes Forbes, Louis Goazion, Chas. Heydrick, James Maurer, Ed Moore. Alternate, Robert Ringler.
SOUTH DAKOTA—Freeman Knowles, O. C. Potter.

TEXAS—John Kerrigan, R. O. Langworthy, E. B. Latham.
WASHINGTON—O. Lund, Hernon F. Titus.

WISCONSIN—H. J. Ammann, Victor L. Berger, J. W. Born, W. R. Gaylord, J. M. A. Spence, E. H. Thomas, Jacob Hunger. Alternates, H. W. Bistortus, Richard Eisner, F. J. Weber, W. C. Young.
Delegate Berlyn moved that the report be adopted.

DEL. MORGAN (Ill.): I ask that the name placed in the report as a substitute for Delegate McElaern be not endorsed until the subject matter in reference thereto be submitted to the Committee on Credentials. My reason for

this is that the election of delegates for Illinois resulted in a tie vote for the last two names. The tie was settled by methods of chance. One of the comrades, of course, lost. It is thought that in the absence of the successful comrade, the one receiving the equal vote should be his substitute, and not any one else. Therefore, I ask that this be left to the committee.

Delegate Barnes (Pa.) moved to amend the motion that the report be adopted with a statement in writing of the case of Delegate Wilson of California. The amendment was accepted and the report of the Committee was adopted.*

Delegate Keown (Mass) moved that the extra delegate from South Dakota be seated. Motion seconded.

Delegate Barnes (Pa.) opposed the motion as overriding the law of representation.

The Chairman ruled that this was a matter to come before the Convention later.

THE CHAIRMAN: The question now before the house is the motion that the report of the committee be accepted and the delegates named seated.

DEL. WALDHORST (Ala.): I want to know as a matter of information—the chairman of the Committee on Credentials reported that there were some

*The papers in the case of Delegate J. Stitt Wilson, of California, were as follows:

Comrades of the Credential Committee: Your attention is hereby called to the fact that Comrade Stitt Wilson, on the occasion of the last election of Hon. Sam Jones of Toledo to the mayoralty of that city, sent to him a telegram congratulating him upon the success of his candidacy. W. A. STANTON, Ohio.

Chl. 5-1-04.

To the Committee on Credentials. With reference to the telegram referred to by the protest from Ohio, I want to say that I did not send the telegram. It was sent by N. O. Nelson of St. Louis, with whom I had been in conversation about the various elections. I did not authorize Mr. Nelson to send the telegram congratulating Mayor Jones on his election over our Socialist comrades. Whatever the Socialist comrades, which I do not know to this day, I believe that Mr. Nelson acted in good faith in coupling my name with his. My attitude to Mayor Jones can be attested by the Toledo comrades, who know that I went specially to Toledo to oppose Mr. Jones in his campaign for Bryan.

J. STITT WILSON.

states which, according to the action of the National Committee, would not be entitled to seats in the convention. I want to know now if this motion to accept and adopt the report of the committee will do away with that action of the National Committee in not wanting to seat delegates whose states were in arrears for a certain amount of dues.

THE CHAIRMAN: The supreme authority of the Socialist Party rests with the National Committee, subject to referendum. We determine our membership. The National Committee are simply our creatures. We are here. The report of the committee is to the effect that the delegates of certain states which are in arrears be seated. They are included in the general report. The motion before the house is to accept the report and seat the delegates.

DEL. WALDHORST: This is certainly satisfactory to me, and I suppose to other comrades, as far as this matter is concerned. But at the same time, I would like to see this report of Comrade Lee put in such shape that at the conclusion of the convention the matter can come to the comrades in the different states and be a part of the convention proceedings. If that is the case, that is all. That is the question I want to have settled.

THE CHAIRMAN: The suggestion of the delegate from Alabama is to the effect that the statement made by the Committee on Credentials relative to the states which are in arrears and whose delegates the committee reported favorably upon, be included in such documents as may be issued by this body. The question before the house is the acceptance of the report of the committee as read and the seating of the delegates named.

Motion put and carried.
The chair then called for the election of permanent chairman for the day, and the temporary chairman was made permanent chairman for the day by unanimous vote. The temporary secretary, Dobbs (N. Y.), was unanimously chosen permanent secretary for the convention. Upon motion, Ira B. Cross (Wis.) and F. X. Waldhorst (Ala.) were elected assistant secretaries.

No Smoking Allowed

A delegate moved that the convention re-indorse the action taken providing

that there be no smoking during the convention. Seconded.

DEL. KERRIGAN (Tex.): I regret a motion of that character coming from a man, as being out of place. From a lady delegate it would have a proper place. But it is born of sentimentality, and it is inconsistent with the comradeship that should exist, and the comradeship that exists in Europe between men and women under relations of a high order. A woman exercises all the rights that a man exercises as to the selection of those that are favorable to her. We as Socialists have no right to demand from members here any action to suit our peculiar ideas as men or individuals. She has a right to exercise the privilege that all men exercise. I have a comrade here who likes to smoke. It is not offensive to him. I am satisfied that the lady delegates who are here come here feeling that they have all the rights that a man enjoys, and they are equal to the men and can protect themselves, and it is altogether sentiment. This supposed protection of woman. She can speak for herself and don't have to have a man to speak for her.

DEL. UNTERMANN (Ill.): I take issue with Comrade Kerrigan of Texas. This is not a question of sentiment; it is a question of common decency. (Applause.) There are men and women in this hall, and it is a violation of comradeship to insist that those who do not like smoke shall be compelled to submit to it.

DEL. IRENE SMITH (Ore.): As the comrade has intimated that we speak for ourselves, I will speak for myself. I am not representing the other ladies present. I have not objected to smoking personally, for the reason that I did not want to be set down as a crank. But speaking for myself, I make known to the comrades that I do protest against smoking second-hand smoke. (Applause.)

DEL. KERRIGAN: Mr. Chairman, inasmuch as one of the lady delegates has spoken, there is nothing for the convention to do but pass upon the objection she has made. Now, I say that the gentlemen who speak on this matter should carry their views out into life. If they do not smoke personally at home they do not smoke in public places. But it is a Socialist principle that we do not recognize any sex, and that is the reason—

DEL. BARRETT (Ind.): I rise to a point of order.

THE CHAIRMAN: Delegate Kerrigan has the floor until this point of order is settled.

DEL. BARRETT: He has already spoken once upon that proposition.

THE CHAIRMAN: The statement made by the delegate from Indiana is correct, but there is no rule, and Delegate Kerrigan had risen and was the only delegate that had been recognized, and he still has the floor.

DEL. KERRIGAN: In the absence of a rule—

THE CHAIRMAN: In the absence of a rule Delegate Kerrigan can talk as often as he can get the floor and as long as he wants to.

DEL. KERRIGAN: I have as much regard for the rights of others, I expect, as any delegate on the floor, but I do object to the introduction of sentimentality to prevent the women from coming into our movement. I know that women do not object to anything in the conduct of men, providing they are within the rules of common decency.

DEL. PARKS (Kan.): I rise to a point of order. Our Chairman has time and time again ruled that he was going to rule this convention according to parliamentary provisions.

THE CHAIRMAN: The delegate from Kansas will make his point of order and not criticize what the Chairman may have said. (Applause.)

DEL. PARKS: We are under parliamentary law until we adopt some other rule, and we have a committee drafting a set of rules that will become a supplement and take the place of parliamentary procedure as soon as they report, and until that time we are under parliamentary procedure, and it has been ruled time and again in this convention that we are to proceed according to parliamentary rules. The point of order is this: that no man shall talk twice upon one subject.

THE CHAIRMAN: The point of order is raised that under parliamentary law a delegate is not allowed to talk twice upon any one subject. The body will understand that not only have we not accepted any rules, but we have not even become a parliamentary body as yet, and under the same parliamentary law that the gentleman is acquainted with I make that ruling, and it has been held that in all parliamentary bodies of

this kind a man can talk as often as he can get the floor. The point of order is not well taken. Delegate Kerrigan has the floor.

DEL. MORGAN (Ill.): May I ask a question?

THE CHAIRMAN: Not without the consent of the delegate.

DEL. MORGAN: My point of order is this: that when we made you Chairman we became a parliamentary body, and you are ruled by parliamentary usages.

THE CHAIRMAN: The point of order is not well taken.

DEL. MORGAN: I desire to appeal from the decision of the chair.

The Secretary took the chair.

DEL. MORGAN: Mr. Chairman and delegates, our Chairman has ruled that the delegate from Texas has the right to speak as long as he will and keep us here as long as he likes. I appeal from the decision of the chair.

CHAIRMAN CAREY: Mr. Secretary, I want to speak to this house. Now, I do not care as to the position that any of the members may take. Let us not confuse our personal views with the question. What is the question? It is not whether we like what Delegate Kerrigan says or what he does not say, whether he has talked twice or may talk a million times. The question is whether, in the absence of rules limiting the number of times a person may talk or the length of time that he may talk, if a person is recognized by the chair, in the absence of such rules he can talk as long as he wants to, and it is therefore the duty of this convention as soon as possible to get at the adoption of rules. I have attempted to assist this convention, but this convention has not been of any assistance to me in the matter. (Laughter.)

The decision of the chair was sustained.

DEL. CAREY resumed the chair.

DEL. HAYES (Ohio): A point of order. I raise the point of order that Delegate Kerrigan of Texas has been discussing the philosophy or abstract theories of the Socialist movement, and has not confined himself to the smoke nuisance.

THE CHAIRMAN: The point of order is well taken. (Laughter.) The delegate from Texas, who has got me into a lot of trouble already, will please confine himself to the subject.

Del. Phelan (Ill.) asked for recognition.

THE CHAIRMAN: The convention will be in order until I state that under the rule the delegate from Texas has the floor, but that unfortunately we have no rules that may prevent a person from taking advantage of it. It is not my fault. I must simply act in accordance with the general practice. Several delegates endeavored to get the floor.

THE CHAIRMAN: The delegate from Texas has the floor. Are there any parliamentary objections?

DEL. STEDMAN (Ill.): A point of order. The Committee on Rules is ready to report.

THE CHAIRMAN: If the convention would permit Delegate Kerrigan to say what he wishes we would have been through long before.

DEL. TAFT (Ill.): Which is the more important, for us to adopt rules or have a discussion on smoking?

THE CHAIRMAN: Delegate Kerrigan has the floor parliamentarily.

DEL. STEDMAN: A point of order. At the session this morning there were two committees elected, a Committee on Credentials and a Committee on Rules. After the Committee on Credentials reported, there was nothing before this body except to receive the report of the Committee on Rules. That committee is now ready to report, and there is nothing that precedes their right to report.

THE CHAIRMAN: The chair decides on the point of order that this convention is not the convention that met before two o'clock; that we are the organized body of the Socialist Party regularly seated, and the meeting before was simply a mass of persons who claimed to be delegates. Delegate Kerrigan, you have the floor as long as you hold it parliamentarily, but I want to say that Comrade Kerrigan would have got through long ago if you would only let him say what he wanted to say.

DEL. KERRIGAN: It placed me in an unfair attitude. It was unfair to say that I was discussing a subject that was not in line with the motion. I was not. The point I wish to make is that this motion is in line with most of the foolish notions that have placed the Socialist party in a wrong attitude. I say that the lady delegates who are here are able to take care of themselves,

and I am sure they do not want to place themselves in the attitude of being criticized on the part of the Socialist party. They want to be in the class of comrades who are devoted to the welfare of the Socialist party. I have no desire to take up your time or harass the convention, as comrades seem to think, but I will insist on being heard when I am in the right, and that is all I have to say. (Applause.)

The motion that smoking be prohibited was finally put and carried.

The Chairman stated that the time for vacating the building (3:45) had already passed, and that if the rules were taken up they would consume several hours, but that the convention was the judge of its own acts.

Delegate Hillquit (N. Y.) moved that the convention do not adjourn until the committees are elected, and that it then adjourn.

It was moved to adjourn until eight o'clock Monday morning. Seconded.

DEL. SPARGO (N. Y.): I am in favor of the motion proposed by Delegate Hillquit of New York. I do not think that this convention ought to consider of paramount importance the arrangements for a banquet.

DEL. HEYDRICK (Pa.): I rise to a point of order. A motion to adjourn has been made and seconded, and that is the only business before the house.

THE CHAIRMAN: A motion to adjourn to a stated time is subject to discussion. A plain motion is not. This is a motion to adjourn to a certain time.

DEL. PHELAN (Ill.): A point of order. We are at present under the question of the Committee on Rules, and no other subject can be introduced.

THE CHAIRMAN: A motion to adjourn a body without time or with time is always in order, and Delegate Spargo has the floor.

DEL. TAFT (Ill.): A point of order. A motion made while another matter is before the house is not debatable. It is only privileged when there is no other matter before the house.

THE CHAIRMAN: A plain motion to adjourn is not debatable, but a motion to adjourn to a specified time is always debatable.

DEL. TAFT: But it is not privileged when there is another motion before the house, and is not debatable.

DEL. SPARGO: I think it is important that this convention get down to

6. Four (4) tellers and two (2) judges to count all ballots shall be appointed for the entire convention.

7. A Committee on Platform shall be elected, to consist of nine (9) members.

8. A Committee on Constitution shall be elected, to consist of one member from each organized state or territory, who shall be chosen by the delegates of each organized state and territory respectively.

9. A Committee on Resolutions shall be elected, to consist of nine (9) members.

10. A Committee on Municipal Program shall be elected, to consist of nine (9) members.

11. The standing Committee on Municipal Program appointed by the Indianapolis Convention shall report to the Committee on Municipal Program.

12. A Press Committee shall be appointed, to consist of five (5) members.

13. An Auditing Committee of five (5) members shall be appointed by the chair.

14. A Committee on Ways and Means shall be elected, to consist of nine (9) members.

15. Discussions shall be limited to ten (10) minutes for each speaker. No speaker shall speak a second time until all desiring to use their time shall have had an opportunity to speak.

16. The sessions of the convention shall begin at 10 a. m. and continue to 12 noon, and from 1:30 p. m. to 5:30 p. m., and a night session as soon as the reports of committees are ready or have been called for. The night session shall extend from 7:30 to 9:30 p. m.

17. Roberts' Rules of Order shall be used, with the exception that when the previous question has been called for three delegates on each side of the question shall be allowed three minutes each for closing the debate before the question is put.

18. During the sessions of the convention no smoking shall be allowed on the floor of the convention.

19. Following shall be the order of business:

1. Report of the Committee on Credentials.

2. Report of the National Secretary.

3. Report of the Committee on Platform.

4. Report of the Committee on Municipal Program.

5. Report of the Committee on Resolutions.

6. Nomination of candidate for President.

7. Nomination of candidate for Vice-President.

8. Election of Delegates to the International Socialist Congress.

9. Report of the Committee on Ways and Means.

10. Report of Auditing Committee.

11. Election of the National Campaign Committee.

W. R. GAYLORD, Secretary.

Minority Reports

A Committee on Trades Unions shall be elected, to consist of nine members.

A Committee on Farmers' Program shall be elected, to consist of nine members.

A Committee on Race Problems, to consider the Negro and Chinese questions, shall be elected, and shall consist of nine members.

SEYMOUR STEDMAN,
W. R. GAYLORD.

The Committee on Constitution shall consist of nine (9) members, to be elected by the convention.

HENRY SLOWORNY,
Of the Committee on Rules.

DEL. TAFT (Ill.): I have another minority report:

The undersigned members of the Committee on Rules concur with the majority report of the Committee, excepting that portion of the report providing for a Committee on Municipal Program. We recommend the adoption of the report with this provision stricken out.

M. H. TAFT,
SAM ROBBINS.

THE CHAIRMAN: You have heard the report of the committee and of the minority. The chair suggests that you proceed to take the matter up serially, and upon those matters to which there is no objection that we act at this time, and pass the sections upon which objections are made and consider them later. Is there any objection to that procedure? If not, the Secretary will read the first paragraph.

Thereupon the Secretary of the com-

Report of Committee on Rules

Comrade Gaylord, secretary of the committee, made the following

lost.

The motion to adjourn was put and

done at the beginning of its sessions.

The motion to adjourn was put and

lost.

Report of Committee on Rules

The Committee on Rules met at the Revere House and Comrade John Work of Iowa was elected Chairman. Comrade W. R. Gaylord was elected Secretary. The Committee begs to report as follows:

1. A chairman shall be elected at the commencement of each day's session.

2. A secretary and two assistants shall be elected for the entire convention.

3. A reading clerk and one assistant shall be elected for the convention.

4. A sergeant-at-arms and assistant shall be appointed for the entire convention.

5. Five (5) pages and five (5) messengers shall be appointed from visiting members by the sergeant-at-arms.

mittee re-read the report section by section, and sections 2, 3, 4, 6 and 12 were received without objection.

Discussion upon matters contained in the report of the Committee on Rules was upon motion limited to three minutes.

Section 1 was amended to provide for the election of a chairman and vice-chairman at the commencement of each day's session.

Sections 5 and 7 were adopted.

The minority report providing for the election of a Committee on Constitution to consist of nine members was adopted.

Section 9 of the report was adopted.

Committee on Municipal Program

Section 10 of the report was then read as follows:

"A Committee on Municipal Program shall be elected, to consist of nine (9) members."

DEL. BERLYN (Ill.): I move that that be stricken out as unnecessary.

DEL. GAYLORD (Wis.): I speak for the committee. There was a committee appointed by the Indianapolis Convention on Municipal Program, which was ordered to report to this convention. The Committee on Rules put this in, if for no other reason, simply to facilitate the handling of that report. It must be received and something done with it, and if for no other reason, it is necessary for that purpose.

DEL. BROWER (Ill.): I am in favor of the report. I do not believe it is right for any delegate to this convention to ask that we rescind the action of a former convention, or that we refuse to listen to the report of so important a committee of the Socialist party in this convention in this year of 1904. I shall vote for the adoption of the report of the committee.

DEL. BERGER (Wis.): I understand that there are men in this convention who are trying to go ahead on the wrong track. They want to fight by knocking out this committee, and I want to warn those delegates that the question itself is a case of whether—

DEL. BICKETT (Ohio): I raise the point of order that the comrade is not speaking to the subject.

THE CHAIRMAN: The point of order is not well taken, for the reason that it is impossible to hold a man absolutely to the question. I can only rely upon each delegate's judgment to

try and talk on the subject. For what purpose does the delegate rise at this time?

DEL. BICKETT: I thought you would recognize a point of order when a comrade in making his speech referred to something not before the house. He is certainly not talking to the question that is before the house.

THE CHAIRMAN: The chair rules that when a delegate departs from the subject he is out of order, but he should attempt to keep as close as possible to the subject. Delegate Berger has two minutes and twenty seconds.

DEL. BERGER: I thank you for the twenty seconds, Comrade Chairman. I would move to amend the report of the committee, that we appoint a committee of nine to report on State and Municipal Program. We have a program—

A point of order was raised that the speaker was not discussing the question, but discussing an amendment that he desired to have carried, and not speaking to the question.

THE CHAIRMAN: The chair has a recollection of hearing the delegate say that he would like even to enlarge the powers of the committee. That is what I heard him say when he rose and I therefore declare the point of order not well taken.

The delegate insisted on his point of order on the ground that Del. Berger first offered an amendment and then proceeded to make a speech upon the amendment.

THE CHAIRMAN: The point of order is not well taken. Delegate Berger has a minute and four seconds.

DEL. BERGER: Mr. Chairman, again I will make another attempt. Now, Mr. Chairman, we want to understand that we are in a different state of brotherhood than we were four years ago. We are made up, and we must face the situation on a question of life and death for the party, and I rise to amend the report of the committee by making it a committee of nine for the purpose of reporting on state and municipal program.

The amendment was duly seconded.

THE CHAIRMAN: The original motion is that a Committee on Municipal Program of nine members be selected. A motion was made to strike out the entire paragraph. A motion was then made to amend the original report by inserting the word "State," so it will read "State and Municipal Pro-

gram." The question will come first on the motion to strike out, since it will practically settle the issue.

DEL. STEDMAN (Ill.): Mr. Chairman and Delegates: One reason the Indianapolis Committee was not under the rule required to report to this convention was because if we had a different committee created by this convention for the same subject-matter it would take into consideration any suggestions that might be made during debates and any suggestions that the delegates might make to the committee created by this body; and that committee, acting upon the information which they receive from the standing committee, could then report. That was to save the convention the trouble of receiving the report of the old committee and adopting it and then receiving the report of a new committee and adopting that. That was the purpose of the committee—I mean the majority of the committee. The minority of the committee desired to strangle both committees and the reason is very apparent. We are in this situation: either we must arrange our campaigns in cities like Chicago upon the declaration that we believe in a co-operative commonwealth, or we must be placed in a position where we can fight every single issue that has a socialistic aspect that is raised in the city. (Applause.) Don't applaud—that cuts my time down. I want to call your attention to one situation in the City of Chicago. The problem came up as to whether—

A delegate here raised a point of order that the question before the house was on the adoption of rules, and not a question of political program.

THE CHAIRMAN: The question as to the advisability of the selection of the committee necessarily involves the objects for which they are to be appointed. The chair therefore decides the point of order not well taken.

The delegate raising the point of order appealed from the decision of the chair, and the question being put to the house by the Secretary, the decision of the chair was sustained.

DEL. STEDMAN: We had two propositions—one was the question of the election of a Board of Education. There were some in our party who

agreed with those who thought that the members of the Board of Education should be elected by a popular vote. There were others who were absolutely opposed to it because it was under capitalism. We have in this city a question of municipal transportation, and there were members of this party in this city who took the position that they would vote in favor of granting franchises to the corporations until we controlled the entire country. Now, then, we should at least have a position upon which we can agree. For my part, I should be opposed to granting franchises to corporations. (Applause.) For my part, I believe the greater the democracy the greater and more accelerated does progress proceed toward our ultimate ideal. We disagree on that. Some members are in favor of nothing, until we have recognized Socialism which would come in by a grand cacophony. Others believe in taking advantage of every means that transfers private ownership to public ownership of these industries. This motion to strike out is made to confine us in this city to the program that existed years ago—

THE CHAIRMAN: The time of the gentleman has expired.

A delegate from Pennsylvania moved the previous question.

DEL. MILLS (Kan.): Comrades, I am very sure that whether we want any discussion on the question or not, the question of the municipal program and of the state program will be discussed in this convention on its merits. This report of the committee is simply a recommendation that the question of the municipal program may be presented in a regular, thoughtful form in order that we may discuss it—not to determine what we will do, but that we may have an opportunity to act with deliberation and with wisdom. (Applause.) Therefore, I am in favor of this report for the appointment of the committee—not on the merits of the question involved, but in order that we may do business decently and in order.

DEL. SIMONS (Ill.): I move you that we do now adjourn until eight o'clock to-morrow morning.

The motion was adopted by a vote of 84 to 62 and the convention adjourned until next morning.

SECOND DAY'S SESSION

Chairman Carey called the convention to order at 10 o'clock. Del. Hillquit (N. Y.) was unanimously elected chairman for the day and Del. Woodbey (Cal.) was made vice-chairman.

DEL. CAREY (Mass.): If the convention will permit me, I desire to say that our Comrade Katayama of Japan is here in the hall, and I move that he be given a seat on the platform. Seconded and carried.

Comrade Katayama was received with enthusiasm as he took his seat on the platform.

A Committee on State and Municipal Program

THE CHAIRMAN: We will next proceed with the report of the Committee on Rules. We are still under the three-minute rule.

DEL. GAYLORD, of the Committee on Rules: I believe we had reached the tenth item. "A Committee on Municipal Program shall be elected, to consist of nine members."

THE CHAIRMAN: Is there any objection to that? Does anyone desire the floor on this proposition?

DEL. TAFIT (Ill.): As a member of the Committee on Rules who signed the minority report recommending the striking out of the appointment of this committee, I ask your indulgence for the three minutes time allowed. The striking out of this report does not involve the question as to whether we go before the people simply on a revolutionary platform. I am aware of the fact that the delegates are largely in favor of the appointment of a committee which shall report a municipal program. I hold, however, that now is the proper time to discuss whether there shall be a program, because if there is not to be a program the work of the Committee on Platform and of the Committee on Resolutions will probably be somewhat different if they are to embody certain points that might otherwise have been brought up as a program. Comrade Stedman and some others are

in the habit of referring to this Chicago bunch as impossibilists, and I think I am perhaps charged with being one of that crowd, but I disclaim being an impossibilist in any sense of the word. I stand for the Socialists doing something. I maintain that if we get into legislative bodies we should go to work and take an active part in these bodies, but I do affirm that it is not the place of the national convention to describe and lay out, at this time at any rate, what shall be done in such a body. Now, I ask, what is the nature of a program? Is it the bona fide, is it the real intention that this program is simply to define what our representatives in these bodies shall do? If that is true, I assert that it will be absolutely futile. We cannot now lay out any kind of a program which will answer the purpose for four years to come. Things are coming up constantly which require action at once, and I will refer just now to our own case in the city of Chicago. It is a fact greatly to be regretted that the comrades of Cook county have seen fit to expel from the Socialist party our member whom we elected as alderman in the city council a year ago. That expulsion was by almost unanimous vote of the County Central Committee. Now, as to the grounds upon which that action was taken, without going into them in detail, I assert that there was not a single ground that was brought up which could have been thought of a year before, or even six months before. To mention just one, the immediate cause was the failure of our member to take action as directed in regard to the Iroquois Theater fire disaster, and I would like to know if any convention could predict a great calamity like that or what should be done in that case. We directed what should be done, and the alderman failed to do it. The other charges, if I took them up in detail, would require too much time, but they were of the same character.

DEL. MILLER (Col.): It seems to me the issue is whether the Socialist party is ready to say something definite on the questions that confront the peo-

ple at this time. Undoubtedly the questions of program, of the farmer, of the negro, etc., are going to come before this convention. It is time that the best intelligence in the Socialist party should express itself along that line in order that we may be able to act with the most wisdom. We cannot ignore these questions, and the proper thing to do is to go ahead and use our time in the selection of a committee that shall bring the best thought they are capable of bringing to bear on that question, submitting the results of their labor to this convention, and then let the convention adopt, accept, amend or reject as in the opinion of the convention the best interests of the Socialist party of the world would be advanced. We may just as well meet the issues as they come. If we are not ready to say something clear and definite upon these issues it is because we do not yet realize the situation. To say "I do not know" is not the final answer to the questions that confront the people of this country. The day will come when we shall say, "I do know," and when the intelligence of the Socialist party shall point the way out of the wilderness; when we shall be able to direct the proletarian conflict on every part of the field and point out the interests of the worker at all times. I hope that that day has arrived. I hope that we may take the leadership of the world, because we are the only party fit to take the leadership, the only party that can win the confidence of the proletarians by pointing to something definite, something that they can take hold of right now, something that shall indicate the course that we shall take in the years that are yet to come. When that hour arrives many of the difficulties and objections—stock objections—that every socialist agitator is met with, will be solved.

DEL. KERRIGAN (Tex.): I rise to a point of order. The speakers are not speaking to the question before the house.

THE CHAIRMAN: The motion before the house is that a Committee on Municipal Program shall be appointed to consist of nine. There is an amendment that a Committee on State and Municipal Program shall be elected to consist of nine. Delegates will please confine themselves to the motion.

DEL. BERYN (Ill.): I am astonished at the drift that the argument has

taken. I made a motion to strike out this committee entirely. My motive is this: I want the comrades to understand that I am in favor of a program. We are here in national convention and we are going to make a platform and a working program for our congressmen, and for our president, if we should elect him. But here is a question of municipal affairs, in a party that is organized on the basis of State autonomy. Where does that come in? Comrade Berger, in yesterday's session, pointed with pride—and he does not take more pride in it than I do—that they have got nine aldermen in the Milwaukee City Council. I take as much pleasure in that as he does.

DEL. KERRIGAN (Tex.): I rise to a point of order. The delegate is not speaking to the question, which is the merits of a program.

THE CHAIRMAN: The point of order is not well taken. We have the broad subject, the necessity of the appointment of a committee of this kind, and it brings up the entire subject for discussion. We have limited our speakers to three minutes, and I suggest that it would be well for the delegates not to interrupt the three-minute speeches. (Applause.)

DEL. KERRIGAN: I accept the ruling, but I think it is a waste of time.

THE CHAIRMAN: I have made my ruling.

DEL. BERYN: I ask your attention in particular now to the charge which was made that in Chicago we have got an impossibilist bunch. I do not think so. Our comrades in Milwaukee are teaching them a lesson by giving them results. We will accept what was learned in Milwaukee in the campaign, and we would accept a program twice as long as the one in Milwaukee if the results warranted. But right at this time I believe we are dealing with national affairs, and the question whether we want a municipal program for Chicago or Sheboygan or Squeadunk should not take up the time of the national convention. We have got plenty of questions that the convention can deal with, and we should keep the convention to its own work and leave this question of municipal program to the municipalities, and with the example that we are going to get from Milwaukee we will get an education and the "Impossibilists," as they are called, will, too. If the re-

sults do not warrant it the impossibilists very probably will be victorious, that is all. In the State convention of Illinois we adopted a State program, and we are going to have it in Chicago. I stood for the program there, but I do not believe it is within the province of the national convention to forecast the particular question that may come up in a municipal campaign. It is there the phenomena is met, and there we will be able to meet it. And it was for the purpose of saving time and getting at rules which would keep local questions away from national questions so that we won't get mixed up that I made the motion to strike out and do away with that committee.

DEL. PARKS (Kan.): I am not rising to debate whether we ought to have a program or ought not to have a program. We ought to refer this thing to a committee, and let that committee thresh out this subject of program and then bring in their report. We want to get down to work in this convention, but it seems as though it is ruled here that it is in order to discuss the merits of a program. Am I correct, Mr. Chairman?

THE CHAIRMAN: No, only inasmuch as the merits are necessarily involved in the question as to whether or not we are to appoint a committee at this time. We are not to lay out the work of the committee, but to speak to the necessity of the appointment of the committee.

DEL. PARKS: Then the way out of it is to let the committee report yes or no, and we will have a minority report and a majority report upon that question, and then we may take it up in due order and decide at that time whether we are going to have a program or not. Now, I am not fully decided upon a program. I believe that rather than saying what we will do when we get elected to the office, we ought to set before the people the principles that will be our guiding rules of conduct. (Applause.) Gentlemen, we cannot cross the river before we come to it. We do not know what we will think to-day or next week. We can only decide when next week comes. There has never been a revolution in the history of the world when the form of government that went into operation after the revolution took place. Of course, we are trying to for-

mulate some kind of program, and I hope we will refer this matter to a committee to decide and discuss the questions and bring a report in so that we can debate the thing properly at the proper time. I hold that this is not the proper time and place to take up and discuss the merits of a program.

Del. Spargo moved the previous question. Seconded and carried.

THE CHAIRMAN: We will first vote as a substitute, on the motion of Delegate Beryn to strike out the recommendation of the committee. We will next vote on the amendment, if the first is voted down, to make a State and Municipal Program. And if that is not carried we will then vote on the original motion to appoint a Committee on Municipal Program only. The vote is on the substitute to strike out the recommendation of the Committee on Rules. The substitute was put and lost.

THE CHAIRMAN: We now proceed to vote on the amendment of Delegate Berger, that a Committee on State and Municipal Program shall be elected to consist of nine members.

The amendment was then put and adopted.

DEL. GAVLORD (Wis.): Is that the amendment?

THE CHAIRMAN: That is the amendment, and it disposes of the original motion. We may just as well put before you now the original motion as amended, which now reads as follows: "A Committee on State and Municipal Program shall be elected to consist of nine members." That is the original motion as amended.

The original motion as amended was adopted.

Section 11 of the Committee's report was then adopted.

At this point the Chairman appointed Comrade Miller of Chicago Sergeant-at-Arms, and Comrade Spears as assistant.

Section 12 was adopted.

Section 13, providing for an Auditing Committee of five was amended to provide that the Chair's appointees stand, providing there was no objection by the delegates. The section was adopted as amended.

Speakers Time Limited

DEL. GAVLORD: "Section 15. Discussions shall be limited to ten minutes for each speaker. No speaker shall speak a second time until all desiring

to use their time shall have had an opportunity to speak."

DEL. TURNER (Mo.): I wish to offer an amendment to the report of this committee, to strike out the words "ten minutes," and insert "five minutes," seconded.

DEL. MEYER (Ill.): I would be in favor of the report of the committee to give ten minutes' time, except on discussion on the program, whatever that is, I don't know.

DEL. MEYER: But every speaker that desires to speak on a very important subject by all means should have all the time necessary in order to state his views on the subject of the program. I move to amend so as to give each comrade who desires to speak on the program as much time as he desires.

Question called for.

THE CHAIRMAN: There is an amendment to the amendment to the effect that ten minutes be the limit of time in the discussion of all topics before the convention except on the program, in which discussion the time shall be unlimited.

The amendment to the amendment was seconded.

DEL. WILL (Kan.): I wish to offer an amendment to the amendment, namely, that the discussions on program shall be limited to ten minutes instead of being unlimited, while other discussions shall be limited to five minutes.

THE CHAIRMAN: We will take this as a substitute for the whole; that is the only way we can take it. The substitute motion is that all discussions be limited to five minutes except discussions on program, which shall be limited to ten minutes. Is there a second?

Substitute seconded.

DEL. HOEHN (Mo.): I favor the original motion. I believe there are some important questions to come before this convention at least equally as important as the program, and I want all of those questions discussed properly. I am as busy as the rest of the delegates and as anxious to get home as the rest, but at the same time we are in national convention assembled, and while we have all the time and have had all the time to make speeches here at this convention, I hope we will not limit the time to five minutes on important matters that will come up. I favor the ten minutes' rule.

DEL. KERRIGAN (Tex.): I do not see the necessity for the amendment to the amendment. If it is the sense of the convention the delegates can have more time to discuss questions that come before it, and I do not see why this question should especially have more time than other questions.

DEL. PARKS (Kan.): I think it is more important to talk upon questions of platform and program than on smoking. As the comrade from Texas says, one is no more important than the other. I believe both the program and the platform ought to be fully discussed. We ought to have at least ten minutes. I suggest that we leave that question open until the time for debating program and platform comes, and that we fix the time limits that we will confine the talkers to at that time. That will be Socialist.

DEL. CARR (Ill.): It does seem to me that the questions that are coming before this national convention are sufficiently important to require at least ten minutes if a man is going to speak upon them at all. I would not object if the rules were suspended later, and fifteen minutes were allowed for a discussion on program. I believe ten minutes is sufficient for ordinary discussions, but I do not believe five minutes is sufficient, and I hope that the convention will vote down all these amendments and adopt the rule proposed by the committee, that we be allowed ten minutes. This convention will be historic. We can afford to stay here another day or two and thresh these important questions out, rather than stifle discussion and make decisions prematurely for lack of discussion, and leave unnecessary feelings in the minds of delegates, no matter which side may be defeated in the discussion. I am very much opposed to limiting the discussion to less than ten minutes. I feel that the matter is more important than some of the comrades seem to recognize, and I hope that these amendments will be voted down and the recommendation of the committee carried.

DEL. ROSE (Miss.): There are some of us who believe that questions will come before this organization that are as important as the question of program, and whatever limit may be set that a speaker may occupy, I believe it would also be wise to state that with the consent of the convention further

time could be extended. Some of these questions can be discussed in five minutes and some may require ten minutes, and I do not believe the limit should be so cast iron in its nature as to shut off discussion of very important questions that will take some time. The suggestion that I wish to make is this, that we have no cast-iron limit; that the limit that may be set by this convention may be set with the understanding that with the consent of the convention further time may be allowed in the discussion of matters of very great importance.

DEL. GAYLORD: It seems to me these matters are matter-of-course questions. If you concur in the ten-minute rule, pass it and be done with it. When you come to program, platform, smoking or anything else, and want to extend the time for discussion by a speaker, do it at that time. Have a uniform rule all the way through, and modify it to meet the situation.

DEL. TURNER (Mo.): My object in introducing this amendment was, first, in order to give all the delegates here an opportunity to be heard on all questions. At previous conventions the time limit, I believe, was ten minutes. The result has been that during the first four or five days questions have been taken up and discussed, each delegate consuming ten minutes or more, and then at the end of the convention or on the last day of the convention very important matters have been rushed through without opportunity for consideration because the delegates have been away from home for four or five days and were tired and wanted to get home. Now, if we limit the debate by the five-minute rule, and there are any important questions, we can extend the time under the rule so as to give an opportunity for all delegates to be heard, all those who wish to speak on the question. It is not for the purpose of choking off debate that I make this amendment, but for the purpose of getting through with our business as soon as possible and giving every question coming before this convention due and proper consideration as its merits deserve. Therefore, I submit my amendment.

Del. Slobodin (N. Y.) moved to vote.

Seconded and carried.
THE CHAIRMAN: The original recommendation of the committee is that the time for all discussion be limited to ten minutes. The amendment is that

the time be limited to five minutes. The amendment to the amendment is that the time for the discussions be limited to five minutes except on questions of program, on which it shall be unlimited; and the substitute for the whole is before the house to the effect that the time be limited to five minutes on all discussions except on discussions of program, in which case it shall be limited to ten.

DEL. WILL: With the consent of my second I desire to withdraw the substitute, and I desire to concur in the recommendation.

THE CHAIRMAN: The mover of the substitute desires to withdraw his substitute. The question is on the substitute. If there is any objection we will proceed.

Objection heard.
THE CHAIRMAN: The substitute comes first.

DEL. HANFORD (N. Y.): I object to the withdrawing of the substitute. The substitute being offered after an amendment to an amendment, is not in order, and, therefore, being out of order, is not before the house.

THE CHAIRMAN: The point of order is not well taken. A substitute for the whole, an amendment to an amendment, is in order. Let us come to a vote.

DEL. HANFORD: You have not ruled on the point I make. The point was that you have the original proposition, the report of the committee; then you then have an amendment; you then have an amendment to the amendment and then you have this comrade's substitute after that.

THE CHAIRMAN: Yes.

DEL. HANFORD: Now, Robert's rules of order recognize nothing except the original motion, the amendment and the amendment to the amendment, and the only way that the comrade can bring up a further amendment, or substitute is after one or more of those amendments have been disposed of.

THE CHAIRMAN: I will have to rule the point of order not well taken. We are not guided by Robert's rules of order, or we have not adopted Robert's rules for our guidance, and it is perfectly parliamentary usage to act on the substitute.

DEL. KERRIGAN: Hasn't the report of the committee adopted Robert's rules of order?

THE CHAIRMAN: We have not

adopted them yet. The substitute for the whole is now in order. It is to the effect that discussions be limited to five minutes except on questions of program, where they shall be limited to ten.

The question on the substitute was put and declared lost.

THE CHAIRMAN: The amendment to the amendment is now in order, to the effect that all discussion be limited to ten minutes, except on the question of program, in which case discussion should be unlimited in time.

The amendment to the amendment was lost.

THE CHAIRMAN: We come now to the amendment, that discussion on any subject be limited to five minutes.

A division being called for upon the vote, the amendment was declared lost by a vote of 59 for to 71 against.

THE CHAIRMAN: We now come to the original recommendation, that all discussions be limited to ten minutes. Thereupon section 15 was adopted as recommended by the committee.

Section 16 was amended to provide for the convention to meet at 9 a. m., and was then adopted as amended.

Sections 17 and 18 were adopted.

The Order of Business

Section 19 of the committee's report, covering the order of business, was then taken up.

Del. Robinson (Ky.) moved to adopt this section. Seconded.

DEL. TURNER (Mo.): I move to amend that in the order of business following the adoption of the platform the nominees for President and Vice-President be inserted.

The motion was seconded.

DEL. GERBER (N. Y.): I move that the first order of business be the report of the National Secretary. Is that the order of business for every day?

THE CHAIRMAN: No, it is the order of business covering the entire convention.

DEL. GERBER: The report of the Committee on Credentials is a standing order, and as it is a standing order we can have that "No. 1," and consequently, the first order of business before the convention—because we have got the

Committee on Credentials—is the report of the National Secretary.

THE CHAIRMAN: Then what your amendment really means, Del. Gerber, is to have the Committee on Credentials, whenever it has anything to report, to make the report every morning?

DEL. GAYLORD (Wis.): In the committee this matter was discussed and it was held there that immediately on the adoption of the rules, amended or otherwise, the very next order of business would be to carry out the recommendation, without knowing whether that would be the election of committees, or whatever should be necessary to carry out these recommendations.

DEL. SIEVERMAN (N. Y.): I notice in the order of business there is a provision for the election of delegates to the International Socialist Congress. It appears to me, in order that we might fully appreciate and understand the character of the work that lays before this congress, that we ought to have the report of the Secretary of the International Socialist Congress before us. We ought to have it before us at a time when we want to elect the delegates who are familiar with the nature of this work. I, therefore, move as an amendment to the rules, that we insert, immediately preceding the election of delegates, that the report of the Secretary of the International Socialist Bureau be heard—that that be made the order of business immediately preceding the election of delegates to the Socialist Congress. I move that as an amendment to the report of the committee on Rules.

The motion was seconded.

DEL. TURNER (Mo.): I want to offer another amendment. I move the amendment that the election of delegates to the International Congress be referred to the referendum vote of the entire membership of the party.

THE CHAIRMAN: Before we consider that, my attention is called to the fact that we have two amendments already. We will have to dispose of them before we entertain your amendment. We will, therefore, take a vote on the two amendments before the house, and we may then continue. The first amendment offered was that the nominations of candidates for President and Vice-President be inserted as the fourth order of business, immediately following the report of the Committee on Platform.

DEL. GAYLORD: May I speak for the committee on that point? The committee, in discussing this matter, thought it was better to have all the ideas that are to be presented in the campaign before us well in hand before we came to the very important matter of the nomination of the candidates. It seemed best to lay out the ground first and then choose the candidates. The matter of resolutions, and other matters connected with the program, might possibly affect some of these questions to be settled in the nomination of candidates and it seemed to us better to lay out the entire ground first.

DEL. WALDHORST (Ala.): Comrade Chairman, I think before the nominations of President and Vice-President take place that the convention should have settled on every question coming before it and know exactly where we stand before we ask any man to stand as the candidate for the Socialist party. It would be an injustice to ask any man to be a candidate before he knows what the party will require of him. If we leave it to the last every one of them will stay here, because they think, just as I do, that this is the first real convention the Socialists of America have had, and they will take great pride in participating in the nomination of our candidates for President and Vice-President.

DEL. MENTON (Mich.): I am in favor of the recommendation of the committee. I do not see why we should object to making the nominations as recommended by the committee. It has been said that we don't know what sort of a platform or what principles we are going to stand upon, but this is a Socialist convention and we are confined to Socialist principles. We cannot change our platform, and I don't see what difference it makes whether we make our nominations first or last.

The amendment providing that the nominations of candidates for President and Vice-President immediately follow the report of the Committee on Platform was adopted.

The amendment to the effect that the report of the International Secretary be made an order of business immediately preceding the election of delegates to the International Socialist Congress was adopted.

Delegate Oneal (Ind.) moved as an amendment that immediately following

the report of the National Secretary the report of the National Quorum be heard, which motion was duly seconded.

Delegate Work (Ia.) moved as a further amendment to strike from the report the 11th paragraph of the section, providing for the election of a National Campaign Committee, which motion was duly seconded.

DEL. WORK (Ia.): In the hurry of finishing up the work of the Committee on Rules I did not notice the significance of the provision for a National Campaign Committee. The committee is not a simple temporary committee, but is intended as a permanent committee to last until after the November election. Now we have a National Committee to attend to that work. Of course, we cannot tell what the Committee on Constitution is going to do, and neither can we tell what we will do with its report. Neither can we tell what the membership on the referendum will do. But whatever we do with that report, we can at least assume that there will be either a Quorum or an Executive Committee or a National Committee of some sort left from the wreck, and it will be one of the duties of that quorum or Executive Committee or National Committee to perform the very duties which it was intended that this National Campaign Committee should perform. Consequently, such a committee is superfluous, and I therefore move to strike out the provision.

DEL. BARNES (Penn.): I rise to favor the last amendment proposed by Del. Work. I think we are providing thereby a dual committee to perform the same labor, as Comrade Work has described. It was the understanding that the National Committee, or a sub-committee thereof, should conduct the campaign. Now, the Committee on Rules have provided for a separate and distinct Campaign Committee, making practically two committees for the same purpose. For that reason I believe in the striking out of that paragraph, as provided in the amendment of Comrade Work. In regard to the other amendment, I cannot see why the two cannot be embodied in the report of the Secretary, or followed by the report of the Secretary by the Secretary himself. I do not see the need of calling for the report of the Local Quorum following the report of the National Secretary for the reason that the Secretary's report is

complete and includes all the work of the National Committee at least. Now, wouldn't that simply be a waste of time, to set off a special time for the report of the Local Quorum especially?

MR. SECY MAILLY (Neb.): Mr. Chairman, the report that I have drawn up for the submission to the convention includes ideas and suggestions of my own, growing out of my experience in the national office. Now, this report was read in the meeting of the Local Quorum. The Local Quorum is not responsible for the report. I am responsible for that report, myself, entirely. My report does not cover the actual work in the office. That has already been covered in my annual and semi-annual reports. My report is in the nature of suggestions to the convention, concerning the organization, so that the Quorum has nothing to do with my report except that I heard it read, and I am entirely responsible for any ideas or suggestions in the report.

DEL. BROWER: A point of information. Has the National Quorum entered the Secretary's report?

MR. SECY MAILLY: I would state that the Quorum took no formal action on my report. They simply heard it and expressed an opinion. I would say one member does not agree with any of it, and the other members agree with some parts and not with others. So that they really could not take action upon it. The report embodies my own ideas entirely.

Delegate Oneal's amendment was adopted.

Delegate Work's amendment to strike out the clause providing for a Campaign Committee was adopted.

A substitute was offered by Delegate Oneal (N. Y.) for the committee's report was not seconded.

DEL. TURNER: I wish to renew my motion to strike out from the order of business the election of delegates to the International Congress, and move this be referred to the referendum vote. The motion was duly seconded.

DEL. SIEVERMAN (N. Y.): I am opposed to that amendment for this reason. I believe there is such a thing as carrying the proposition of a referendum in an absurdity, and I think this is one of the moves in that direction. If we are going to carry out the referendum to its logical conclusion then we ought to allow before naming candidates for President and Vice-President. Our ob-

ject in meeting in conventions of this kind is to select people to take care of the interests that we think require immediate attention. Delegates are selected who are familiar with principles and acquainted with the men, and nobody is better qualified to judge of the merits or demerits of the candidates for Vice-President and President, for National Secretary, for Secretary of the Socialist Bureau and for Delegates to this International Congress than the assembled delegates. I believe that we ought to do that here. (Applause.) I believe that we ought to vote this amendment down. The great trouble is that in our devotion to an idea or principle we sometimes go to extremes that make our whole course ridiculous and inoperative. How can the various members of our party, scattered all through the country, sit in intelligent judgment upon the merits and demerits of candidates whom they have never met and whom they may possibly never meet? We have the confidence of this membership or we would not be here. We are their free and untrammelled choice as representatives to this convention, and we, alone, are best qualified to say who shall be selected representatives to the International Socialist Congress.

DEL. RICHARDSON (Cal.): I think I understand the spirit of Brother Turner's motion, and I would suggest to him just briefly that the action of this convention is in no sense final. I believe it to be the duty of this convention to nominate a delegate to that important meeting, as the comrade from New York has said, this convention is best qualified to judge who should be there. And yet I would call the attention of every other comrade to the fact that that action cannot be made final, and if Comrade Turner is opposed to that action, if he can incite or persuade the proper number of locals anywhere in this nation to register their protest they can demand a referendum vote. That makes the action absolutely safe and keeps us always within democratic lines. (Applause.) Therefore, I think it the duty of this convention to make the selection, and then, if you make a mistake, let the membership rectify it.

DEL. DEUTZMAN (Cal.): I want to rise to make an amendment to the amendment, that this convention name the delegates.

The motion received no second.

The amendment to refer the election of delegates to the International Socialist Congress was defeated.

DEL. GOAZIOU (Penn.): I move to amend by adding to section 8, "Election of delegates to the International Congress of Socialists," that such delegates be elected subject to the approval of the membership at large.

DEL. KLEIN (Minn.): Comrade Chairman, everything is subject to approval of the party, and that is useless.

THE CHAIRMAN: There is no further discussion upon this amendment?

DEL. STEVERMAN (N. Y.): I want to remind the delegates here that there is nothing practical to be obtained by this course. The International Socialist Congress convenes next August, and it does not seem to me that we can get this referendum in action to accomplish any practical results before that time.

DEL. DALTON (Ill.): It appears to me that the middle of August is far enough away to get a referendum vote. If we nominate a candidate for President here, and only nominate one candidate, it is pretty well understood that we are nominating a man that the party approves of, but where we name two men for the position of International Delegates, certainly the rank and file ought to have a chance to vote on them. The 14th of August is not so close at hand, but that we can get a vote on it.

DEL. NAGEL (Ky.) moved that adjournment be taken until 1:30.

Upon the motion being put, a division was called for and pending the taking of the vote and the announcement of the result, the following telegrams to the convention were read by the Secretary:

"Comrades: Local, Hudson County, N. J., sends greetings and wishes you success in your deliberations.

FERDINAND UFFERT,
Organizer.

—
BUFFALO, N. Y., May 1, 1904.
Socialist National Convention, Chicago:

Greeting from May day demonstration, Swartzmeyer's hall, by comrades of Local Buffalo
S. D. P.

WASHINGTON, D. C., May 1, '04.
Local Washington Socialist Party sends congratulations. Three cheers for Socialism!
Local WASHINGTON SOCIALIST PARTY

—
NEW YORK, May 1, 1904.
Socialist Party in Convention Assembled, Chicago:
The New York Socialist Literary Society sends greetings.
WM. KARLINSKY.

—
STONINGTON, Conn., May 1, 1904.
Comrades from Stonington, Conn., send greeting for comrades in Socialist Convention, and congratulation for straight Socialist work. Hurra for Socialist Party of America!
WM. LINDERLST.

—
BUSHWICK JUNCTION, N. Y., May 2, 1904.
Comrades Local Queens S. D. P. New York assembled, send hearty greetings, hoping your earnest endeavors will help the cause.
HAWM, Organizer, and
GOELLER, Secretary.

—
MONESSEN, Pa., May 2, 1904.
Greetings from Belle Vernon Local, wishing success.
BELLE VERNON SOCIALIST PARTY.

—
CINCINNATI, O., May 2, 1904.
The International Union of United Brewery Workmen of America send greeting and best wishes to the Congress of the Socialist party now in convention assembled. May the work of the delegates be of everlasting benefit to the proletarian class and to the credit of the Socialist Party of America!
JOSEPH PROBSTER,
International Secretary.

—
The messages, especially the last one were received with great enthusiasm. After several announcements, the Chairman declared the convention adjourned upon a vote of 67 to 52 until 1:30 p. m.

AFTERNOON SESSION

Chairman Hillquit called the convention to order shortly before 2 o'clock and immediately recognized Del. White (Mass.), who stated that the Sergeant-at-Arms and his assistant, in the literal interpretation of their duty, had recognized the wives of the delegates who had seated themselves with their husbands on the floor of the convention, to move without the circle, and Delegate White accordingly moved that for the guidance of the Sergeant-at-Arms during the future sessions of the convention, it be the sense of the convention that the wives of delegates who are not delegates to the convention be permitted, if they so desire, to sit within the convention circle.

The motion was seconded amid hearty applause.
THE CHAIRMAN: I do not dare oppose that motion for reasons well known to the friends of the Chair. (Laughter.)

DEL. CARRIE L. JOHNSON (Iowa): Mr. Chairman, I move you that the motion be amended to include the husbands and sweethearts. (Laughter.)
The question was put and the motion carried unanimously, and the convention then proceeded with the regular order of business.

The Roll Call

THE CHAIRMAN: We will now proceed with the discussion of the rules. Del. Gerber (N. Y.) moves as an amendment to the rules, the following:

"All votes to be taken of yeas and nays and when division is asked for, by a rising vote. Roll call to be had only when asked for by delegates from three different states."

The motion was seconded.

DEL. SPARGO (N. Y.): I desire to amend that clause so as to make it read that instead of roll call being permissible on the call of delegates from at least three states, that the roll call may be demanded only by a majority of the votes of the convention.

The amendment was seconded.
THE CHAIRMAN: The amendment is to strike out the words, "by delegates from three different states," and insert instead thereof, "by the majority of the convention."

DEL. GERBER (N. Y.): I accept that as an amendment to my motion.
THE CHAIRMAN: We have the consent of the seconder of the original motion to accept. Are you ready for the question?

DEL. BERGER (Wis.): Mr. Chairman, so as to make it as easy as possible for the delegates to go on record, I believe that if three demand a roll call, then I believe a roll call ought to be granted. There are a good many of us who desire to vote, and we desire to show how we voted when we get back home, and I believe that the original report of the committee is all right, and I believe that we ought to accept that report.

THE CHAIRMAN: It is not the report of the committee we are discussing now, Comrade Berger; it is the resolution or motion made by Comrade Gerber of New York.
DEL. BERGER (Wis.): Well, anyhow, it is a good motion. (Laughter and applause.)

DEL. HANFORD (N. Y.): I would ask for an interpretation of the original motion. Does it mean that the call must be by the unanimous call of all the delegates of three different states or by delegates from three different states?

THE CHAIRMAN: As the Chair reads the motion it signifies any three delegates from any three different states.
DEL. HANFORD (N. Y.): I just want to call Comrade Gerber's attention as well as that of the other delegates to one point, and that is that if a rule as was originally proposed by Comrade Gerber should pass, allowing three delegates from three different states to call the roll—to demand a roll call instead of having it by a majority, having a rule requiring that a majority of the convention only could insist on a roll

call, you would be in this position: that any time three men from three different states wish to make the entire convention spend its entire day in calling the roll, those three men would have the power to do it. Now, as a matter of fact, you are in this position: In order to do your business, in order to transact your business within any time, let alone within any reasonable time, you simply must have some proposition to prevent any individual, or small number of individuals, from consuming the entire time of this convention in roll call. As far as I am personally concerned I would just as soon go on record on any old kind of a vote, but I insist that we ought to have the proposition so that two or three individuals could not tie up the entire convention.

DEL. BERGER (Wis.): I want to make an amendment to the original motion, that roll call shall be had only upon the request of twenty delegates at any time.

The motion was seconded.

DEL. SPARGO (N. Y.): Upon the motion, so far as I am personally concerned, I have no objection at all, and Delegate Berger, or any other delegate, need not waste time in speaking of the fact that we may have to go upon record. We are willing to go upon record when the necessity arises for that, but comrades, it is not right or proper that it shall be within the power of any two or three men to place the convention in the position that it will have to fritter away its time. That is why I objected to the motion in its original form. Now, Comrade Berger moves that twenty men or twenty delegates may so demand. I am equally opposed to that, because New York State has twenty delegates present, and the New York State delegation, if it so decided, could compel this convention to have a roll call, even if every other state was opposed to it. Now, then, it would be equally possible for the Wisconsin delegation and some other of the smaller delegations to do the same thing. I am perfectly willing that we be governed by the decision of the majority of the delegates present in this convention, but I am not willing, Comrade Chairman, that we shall be at any time placed at the mercy of the minority.

DEL. STROBEL (N. J.): Comrade Chairman, it seems to me that one thing is forgotten in this discussion. A roll call is the weapon of the minority to

get fair treatment. Now how is the minority ever to get a majority to call for a roll call? Why, it is perfectly preposterous. In order to afford the minority a fair vote you have got to get some members of the majority opposed to that, to vote with them. Now, that isn't right at all. You have got to have some kind of a minority call for that roll call. You can't have a majority. (Applause.)

DEL. SIMONS (Ill.): It seems to me that the call for roll call is not a weapon of defense on the part of the minority, but it is simply a weapon of obstruction. They are robbed of their rights whatsoever by being denied a roll call. If there is any individual here whom they want to put on record, let them ask for him and call him before the convention, if they actually feel that they want to pillory some person—they themselves want to be on record. I am sure there will be no objection to their making an affidavit as to the manner in which they vote and report to their constituencies. When a question is to be decided, one way or the other, that question must be decided by a majority vote, and it can be decided by a roll call. The roll call in the hands of the minority could be nothing but an obstruction. If you want to vote for a roll call, we saw how it worked at the Indianapolis convention, we saw things held back there through the power of the minority to demand a roll call. There was some justice in the proposition at that convention, however, because there it was a question of combining the warring parties and every side had its own rights. This convention is gathered to do business, not simply to get men together in some sort of an alliance, and in order to do business I hope that we will perfect an organization that will enable us to do business (Loud applause.)

DEL. WOODBURY (Cal.): Comrade Chairman and Comrades: Now it seems to me that allowing the minority the privilege of putting the convention on record on any important question is no more a rule of the minority than when we allow a minority to initiate anything that the state or nation may have to submit to. Now our local here may initiate the measure in local Chicago and they may ask for the endorse-

ment of five other locals, and they being in the minority, compel the nation even to take a roll call, and it seems to me there is nothing to object to here. If there is any important question here that anybody is afraid of going on record on, there ought to be some means of making them go on record, and it seems to me that this motion is perfectly in harmony with what we have been doing.

We allow the minority to initiate rules in the Socialist party, and the minority in this convention ought to have at least as much privilege as the minority in the states, upon the question of referendum.

DEL. GAYLORD (Wis.): It seems to me we are frightened over something that need not frighten us at all. Why not allow them three or twenty delegates, or any number they choose? It is the majority that finally decides: how questions are settled, and the majority will rule on a roll call just as well as any other way.

DEL. JACOBSEN (Ia.): Comrade Chairman, I move you that we now proceed to take a vote upon the previous question.

DEL. Jacobsen's motion was seconded and adopted.

The two amendments were then put and were both lost.

THE CHAIRMAN: The entire motion as amended will now be read by the secretary.

The Secretary then read the following motion:

"All votes to be taken by yeas and nays, and when division is asked for, by a rising vote. Roll call to be had upon the decision of a majority of the delegates voting."

The motion as amended was adopted.

A Committee on Trades Unions

THE CHAIRMAN: Are there any further amendments to the rules proposed by your committee?

DEL. MILLER (Col.): I move that a committee of seven be elected from the Trades Union membership on the floor of the convention to consider the relation of the Socialist party to the Trades Unions, and that they report back to the convention with a resolution.

The motion was seconded.

THE CHAIRMAN: Motion has been made and seconded that a committee of seven be elected from such of the delegates as are members of trades unions, to prepare a resolution on the relationship of the Socialist Party to the

trades unions, and the committee to report back to the convention.

DEL. WALDHORST (Ala.): I rise to a point of order.

THE CHAIRMAN: What is your point of order?

DEL. WALDHORST (Ala.): My point of order is that we are considering rules for the convention and not committees.

THE CHAIRMAN: The point of order is not well taken. We have already in the rules decided upon various committees.

DEL. SPARGO (N. Y.): Comrade Chairman, I move you to table the motion.

The question was put and the vive voce vote leaving the chairman in doubt, a division was called for.

A rising vote being taken, the Secretary announced the result to be 71 in favor, 64 opposed, and the Chairman declared the motion to table carried.

DEL. GAYLORD (Wis.): Comrade Chairman, I call up the minority report of yesterday, signed by two members of the committee, Seymour Stedman and W. R. Gaylord, viz. "A Committee on Trades Unions shall be elected to consist of nine members," and I move its adoption.

THE CHAIRMAN: Motion is made to adopt the recommendation of the minority, to elect a committee of nine on trades unions. Is the motion seconded? Several delegates seconded Comrade Gaylord's motion.

DEL. STEDMAN (Ill.): The previous motion made to table shows a disposition to disregard the attitude of the Socialist Party toward the trades union movement, and the argument is frequently made here that we should not have a committee on trades unions. Now the Socialist Party, in my judgment, should have a committee upon the trades union movement, and upon that committee we should have members from both the American Labor Union and the American Federation of Labor. The Socialist Party should make no distinction as between these two organizations, but as I say, should have members from both on that committee, and that committee should bring in a resolution which should be adopted by this body. It should not take the position of trying to capture the trades unions; it should not take the position of trying to bring them into the movement as trades un-

ions, but it should bring in a resolution that will state clearly the position of the Socialist Party upon this question, and thus prevent the confusion and conflict which we have had in Local St. Louis and elsewhere. The Socialist Party in its convention here should state its position and so prevent any confusion.

DEL. SLOBODIN (N. Y.): I rise to a point of order.

THE CHAIRMAN: What is your point of order?

DEL. SLOBODIN: My point of information, possibly, is that I want to know whether the question before the convention is not whether we should have a trades union resolution, or what action we should take upon a trades union resolution, but the question is whether we should have a standing committee on trades unions.

THE CHAIRMAN: Do you make it as a point of order?

DEL. SLOBODIN: A point of information.

THE CHAIRMAN: Well, the motion reads that we appoint or elect a committee of nine on trades unions.

DEL. FARRELL (O.): Comrade Chairman, I am a trades unionist, but I want to say that I am a Socialist first and a trades unionist second. I have come to this convention to represent my constituents as a Socialist and not as a trades unionist. (Applause.) I want to say to you, Mr. Chairman, and comrades here assembled, that if this was a trades union convention and the question was up to consider whether that trades union should adopt Socialist principles, I would be in favor of voting for it, but here in this convention I am strictly opposed to it. I say we are here and advocate a cause that interests all humanity, and I want to say that while we are in this convention, we should be for Socialist principles and those alone. In my opinion and in the opinion of the local to which I belong, the Socialist movement should stand for the workers, and should stand above all other organizations, whether they be trades unions, or farmers or anything else. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: Before we proceed further, I desire to say that during the discussion I do not wish to interrupt the speakers, but they must confine themselves to the subject under discussion. The subject before us is

not the attitude of the party to the trades union movement, but the question before us is whether we should appoint a committee to prepare a resolution on the trades unions and report back to this convention. Therefore, delegates will be required to confine themselves to that subject.

DEL. DILNO (Mo.): Comrade Chairman, I am of the opinion, that we do not need any separate committees, believe the committee on resolutions attend to this question. (Applause.) There is a committee on resolutions and that committee ought to attend this matter.

The question was here called for.

THE CHAIRMAN: Comrade Seiverman will now have the floor.

DEL. SEIVERMAN: I want to say upon this subject that I trust we all here as Socialists. That I trust Socialists we can hear every question that has any bearing whatsoever upon the labor question, and that we can have a free and full discussion of it here, trust also that we will not try to get away with that phase of the labor question which deals with the trades union movement, which embraces itself in a trades union movement, by cowardly noting it. (Applause.) I trust that will have sufficient courage to face the question in a manly manner, and if I think that the trades union movement has sunk to such insignificance as not warrant our consideration, or any consideration whatsoever, let us say (Applause.)

A delegate then rose to a point of order, stating that the speakers should confine themselves to the subject.

THE CHAIRMAN: The point of order is not well taken at present. We have requested the delegates to confine themselves to the question, and sit then they have done so.

DEL. SIEVERMAN (N. Y.): When this committee is appointed and bring in its report, I trust that I will be something to say on the merits of the question. Just now we have nothing to say or to discuss, but some basis be arrived at if we will appoint a committee whose special duty it shall be to investigate this whole proposition and report to the delegates of this convention, in their collective wisdom, is the best way to meet this proposition. It is all that is involved in this proposition, nothing more and nothing less

When we adopt this motion we do not limit ourselves to the trades union movement. We do not make ourselves champions of the trades unionists; simply say we are going to discuss the matter here, we are going to finally vote on it, and I want to know why we hesitate to take that course? Is it because you fear a full and free discussion, or some of you did the proposition on this program? I do not. I will answer this question from every phase, and I want this committee appointed. I care who they favor or what they say, but I want it discussed here, and want the first preliminary steps taken as to do that intelligently and thoroughly, and hence I want that committee appointed. (Applause.)

DEL. BROWER (Ill.): Comrade Chairman and Comrades: As a member of a trades union, a man who has worked with a class-conscious fearlessness in that organization of labor and speaking on this floor a member of a trades union has asked that this committee be appointed. I want to go on record as a roll call. I want to have a roll call here in order that the matter be brought intelligently before this convention. (Applause.)

DEL. MILLER (Col.): Comrade Chairman and Comrades: Representing a constituency that is interested in the trades union movement, I cannot adequately represent them on this floor without calling for an authoritative expression from the Socialist party in convention assembled, upon the question of the trades union movement. It is big enough to demand our attention. We have been too hazy in our attitude on any of these great vital questions affecting the interests of the whole people.

It is not enough to tell the workers that you are their friend, that you are of them and that you are the only party that is fit to live at all. You must show them by the measures which we propose for their relief your ability to guide them, and that you are fit to control. Now the only way in which we can arrive at this point is to appoint the committee, let them deliberate and bring the results of their deliberation before you. Upon the attitude of this committee depends—perhaps more than that of any other committee that will be appointed—the attitude of the trades unionists of this country, and through them may not be class conscious political—they are class conscious industrially.

(Applause.) And I want to tell you that they have grafted some of the most splendid ideals of Socialism out of the realms of abstraction into the concrete, where men recognize the truth of their contentions, grafted them from the bull pens and jails of this country. (Applause.) They are entitled to be heard, to be recognized and to have their position and their duties pointed out by the Socialist party in this country. It is a duty you owe to them and a duty you owe to yourselves. (Applause.)

The previous question was called for, that a committee of nine be appointed as a committee on trades unions, and the question being put the motion was carried.

DEL. HANFORD (N. Y.): I now move you, Comrade Chairman, the previous question on the adoption of the rules as a whole.

The question being put on the motion it was carried unanimously.

THE CHAIRMAN: The only thing before the convention now is the motion to adopt the report of the committee as amended as a whole.

The motion was put and carried unanimously and the report, as amended, declared adopted.

THE CHAIRMAN: We will now proceed to elect a Committee on Platform.

COMMITTEE ON PLATFORM.

The following nominations were made for the Committee on Platform:

Herron (N. Y.), by Hanford (N. Y.).

Berger (Wis.), by Spence (Wis.).

Richardson (Cal.), by Mention (Mich.).

Simons (Ill.), by Lamb (Mich.).

Leonard (Minn.), by Ault (Idaho).

Debs (Ind.), by Herron (N. Y.).

Titus (Wash.), by Oneal (Ind.).

Will (Kan.), by Cogswell (Kan.).

Mailly (Neb.), by White (Mass.).

Lee (N. Y.), by Berger (Wis.).

M. W. Wilkins (Cal.), by Robbins (Cal.).

Hanford (N. Y.), by Gerber (N. Y.).

Behrens (Mo.), by Brandt (Mo.).

Gibbs (Mass.), by Sargo (N. Y.).

Phelan (Ill.), by Tatt (Ill.).

Strobel (N. J.), by Will (Kan.).

Jonas (N. Y.), by M. W. Wilkins (Cal.).

Carr (Ill.), by Hoehn (Mo.).

Hillquitt (N. Y.), by Sedman (Ill.).

Del. Turner, of Missouri, moved to proceed to an election. Seconded.

Motion lost, and nominations proceeded as follows:

Bandlow (Ohio), by Zorn (Ohio).
Mills (Kan.), by Southworth (Colo.).
Stedman (Ill.), by Miller (Colo.).
Block (Ill.), by Meyer (Ill.).
Stitt Wilson (Cal.), by Cobb (Cal.).
Burrowes (N. J.), by Outram (Mass.).

Barnes (Pa.), by Gaylord (Wis.).
Webster (Ohio), by Klein (Minn.).
Meyer (Ill.), by Phelan (Ill.).
Lefever (Ark.), by Rose (Miss.).
Spargo (N. Y.), by Slobodin (N. Y.).
Hayes (Ohio), by Waldhorst (Ala.).
Clark (Neb.), by Snyder (Okla.), by Hayes, (Okla.).
Kraybill (Kan.), by Penrose (Ark.).
Delegate McKee, of California, moved to proceed to an election. Seconded and carried.

The list of names was read by the Secretary, and the following delegates declined: Stedman, Barnes, Jonas, Bandlow, Mills, Clark, Burrowes, Simons, Lefever, Lee, Rose, Kraybill.

The Chairman appointed Delegates Gerber (N. Y.) and Will (Kan.), judges; and Hayman (Mass.), Ufert (N. J.), McKee (Cal.), and Turner (Mo.), tellers, to serve throughout the convention.

THE CHAIRMAN: We will next proceed to the election of a Committee on Constitution.

COMMITTEE ON CONSTITUTION.

The following nominations were made: Stedman (Minn.), by Klein (Minn.).
Hochman (Ill.), by Benesi (Mich.).
Hillquit (N. Y.), by Herron (N. Y.).
Jacobsen (Iowa), by Work (Iowa).
Clark (Neb.), by M. W. Wilkins (Cal.).

McBarian (Mich.), by Menton Oswald (N. J.), by Kronenberg (N. J.).

DEL. BARNES (Pa.): I have a suggestion that we call the states alphabetically and go through them, and thus avoid confusion.

Seconded and carried.
The roll of the States was called and the following nominations made:

Alabama—Simons (Ill.).
California—Bandlow (N. Y.), Richardson and Patton (Cal.).
Connecticut—Lamb (Mich.).
Illinois—Berlyn (Ill.), Lucas (Minn.), Slobodin (N. Y.).

Indiana—Kerrigan (Tex.).
Kansas—Kerrigan (Tex.).
Kentucky—Dobbs (N. Y.).
Massachusetts—Keown and Littlefield (Mass.).

Missouri—Turner (Mo.), M. (Kan.).
Montana—O'Malley (Mont.).
Nebraska—Barnes (Pa.).

New Hampshire—Lee (N. Y.).
New York—Butscher (N. Y.).
Ohio—Bandlow and Sieverman (Y.).

Oklahoma—Smith (Ore.).
Oregon—Spargo (N. Y.).
Washington—Lund (Wash.).
Wisconsin—Young (Wis.), Kerrigan (Tex.).

Mississippi—McGrady (Ky.).
Delegates Simons, Patton, Stedman, Lucas, Robbins, Dobbs, Keown, Littlefield, Lee, Sieverman and Spargo declined the nomination.

THE CHAIRMAN: We will now proceed to vote by ballot as on former occasion.

DEL. BUTSCHER (N. Y.): Before we take another vote I want to say that I do not see how we can proceed to elect a second committee until we have the Tellers' report on the first, for reason that part of the delegates nominated on this committee have also been nominated and voted upon on the other committee, and we are liable to elect men on two committees. I think we will have to wait with the rest of business until we get the report of Tellers on the Committee on Platform.

THE CHAIRMAN: It will take hour if you wait. In the meanwhile can elect this Committee and if anyone should appear to have been elected the other committee, we can take next man in the order of votes, or such other course as the convention may decide. We will now proceed to vote by ballot as on the former occasion.

The chair called for nominations Committee on Resolutions, to consist of nine members—nominations to be made by States as before.

DEL. NAGEL (Ky.): I move Mr. Chairman, that in case any candidate is elected on two committees, he shall resign from one and the candidate receiving the next highest number of votes on that committee shall be declared elected in his or her place. The motion was seconded.

THE CHAIRMAN: The motion

that if it appears that any one delegate has been elected upon more than one committee he shall resign from such other committees and serve only upon the one he may select; and that the candidate receiving the next highest number of votes shall be declared elected to the vacancy thus created.

The motion was then put and carried. THE CHAIRMAN: We will now proceed to nominations for members of Committee on Resolutions.

COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS.

The following nominations were made for the Committee on Resolutions:

California—McHugh (Mont.), Wilson (Cal.), Hazlett (Colo.).
Connecticut—Reynolds (Ind.).
Illinois—Deitzman (Cal.), Simons (Ill.), Heydrick (Pa.).
Indiana—Oneal (Ind.).
Iowa—Nagel (Ky.).

Kansas—Southworth (Colo.).
Kentucky—Cary (Mass.) and Slobodin (N. Y.).
Massachusetts—Berlyn (Ill.) and Littlefield (Mass.).

Michigan—Stedman (Ill.).
Minnesota—Klein (Minn.) and Lee (N. Y.).
Missouri—Linscomb (Mo.).

Montana—Floaten (Colo.) and Smith (Ore.).
Nebraska—Hanford (N. Y.).
New Hampshire—Gibbs (Mass.).
New Jersey—Burrowes (N. J.) and Spence (Wis.).

New York—Lee (N. Y.), Spargo (N. Y.) and Moore (Pa.).
Ohio—Webster (O.).
Oklahoma—Loudermilk (Okla.).
South Dakota—Knowles (S. D.).
Texas—Langworthy (Tex.) and Putnam (Ia.).

Wisconsin—Hoehn (Mo.) and Gazdon (Pa.).
Delegates Simons, Slobodin, Berlyn, Floaten, Hanford, Gibbs, Webster and Hoehn declined the nomination.

THE CHAIRMAN: The next business in order is the election of a Committee of nine on State and Municipal Program.

COMMITTEE ON STATE AND MUNICIPAL PROGRAM.

The following nominations were made:
Alabama—Berger (Wis.).

California—Patton (Cal.).
Colorado—Kraybill (Kan.).
Connecticut—Ufert (N. J.).
Illinois—Simons, Stedman, Dalton and Jas. Smith (Ill.), and Benesi (Mich.).

Indiana—Hyland (Neb.).
Iowa—Reynolds (Ind.) and Work (Iowa).

Kansas—Floaten (Colo.) and Wilson (Cal.).
Kentucky—Robinson (Ky.) and Woodbey, (Cal.).

Massachusetts—Kelly and Keown (Mass.).
Michigan—Dino (Mo.).

Minnesota—Bickett (O.).
Missouri—Rathbun (Mo.).
Montana—Walsh (Mont.).
New Jersey—Raible (Mo.).
New York—Hoehn (Mo.), Gaylord (Wis.).

Atkinson (N. Y.) and Stedman (Ill.).
Ohio—Farrell (O.).
Oklahoma—Whitelatch (Ind. Ter.).
Oregon—Walsh (Mont.).

Pennsylvania—Untermann (Ill.) and Bacon (Pa.).
Texas—Latham (Tex.).
Wisconsin—Thomas (Wis.) and Bandlow (O.).

Delegates Ufert, Simons, Dalton, Hyland, Woodbey, Bickett, Hoehn, Farrell, Thomas and Bandlow declined the nomination.

The vote for Committee on Platform was then announced as follows:

Herron, 137; Debs, 143; Wilkins, 79; Will, 75; Hanford, 116; Titus, 112; Mally, 121; Strobell, 75; Berger, 92; Spargo, 73; Kraybill, 15; Block, 14; Leonard, 25; Behrens, 53; Carr, 12; Gibbs, 63; Snyder, 46; Webster, 23; Wilson, 50; Richardson, 56; Phelan, 34; Meyer, 18; Robinson, 21; Burrowes, 1; Mills, 2; Stedman, 3; Lee, 3; Simons, 3; Klein, 1; Hayes, 1; Clark, 1.

The following delegates were declared elected the Committee on Platform: Eugene V. Debs, Indiana; George D. Herron, New York; Ben Hanford, New York; William Mally, Nebraska; Hermon F. Titus, Washington; G. H. Strobell, New Jersey; Thomas E. Will, Kansas; Victor L. Berger, Wisconsin; M. W. Wilkins, California.

Delegate Stedman (Ill.) moved that the convention remain in session until the committees had all been elected. Seconded.

Before the motion was put the vote

for the Committee on Constitution was announced as follows:

Ault, 30; Clark, 89; Bandlow, 114; Hillquit, 153; Berlyn, 93; Holman, 62; Butcher, 101; Jacobsen, 45; Kerrigan, 71; Lund, 62; McFarlan, 41; Mills, 85; Oswald, 22; Richardson, 82; Slobodin, 98; Smith, 28; Turner, 64; Young, 13; Barnes, 132; Mally, 25.

The following delegates were declared elected the *Committee on Constitution*: Morris Hillquit, New York; J. Mahlon Barnes, Pennsylvania; Robert Bandlow, Ohio; William Butcher, New York; Henry L. Slobodin, New York; B. Berlyn, Illinois; W. E. Clark, Nebraska; Walter Thomas Mills, Kansas; N. A. Richardson, California.

Delegate Steedman's motion that the convention remain in session until the committees had all been elected was then put and adopted.

THE CHAIRMAN: There are two more committees to be appointed according to rules. One is the Committee on Press, and the other is the Auditing Committee, consisting of five members each. The chair will announce the following appointments:

Committee on Press—A. M. Simons, Illinois; Alexander Jonas, New York; J. H. Walsh, Montana; G. H. Strobell, New Jersey; F. L. Robinson, Kentucky.

THE CHAIRMAN: That gives Delegate Strobell the choice of one or the other of two committees.

Auditing Committee—Gustave Dressler, New York; Miss Carrie L. Johnson, Iowa; T. E. Palmer, Missouri; A. B. Outram, Massachusetts; H. M. McKee, California.

THE CHAIRMAN: Nominations are next in order for the Committee on Ways and Means, nine members to be elected.

COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND MEANS.

The secretary then called the roll of states, and the following were nominated:

California—Cobb (Cal.).
Illinois—Herron (N. Y.).
Indiana—Slobodin (N. Y.).
Iowa—Jacobsen (Ia.) and Leonard (Minn.).
Kentucky—Mally (Neb.) and Stockell (Tenn.).
Michigan—Lamb (Mich.).
Minnesota—John D. Rockefeller (Laughter).

Missouri—Miller (Colo.) and Goion (Pa.).

Montana—Hirt (Mont.).
Nebraska—Duncan M. Smith (Ill.).
New Jersey—Gerber (N. Y.) and Rubinow (N. J.).
New York—Morgan (Ill.) and Hoehn (Mo.).
Ohio—Lund (Wash.).
Oregon—Lund (Wash.).

Texas—Kerrigan (Tex.).
Wisconsin—Ammann (Wis.).

Delegates Herron, Slobodin, Jacobsen, Leonard, Mally, Goazou, Smith, Gerber and Morgan declined the nomination.

This leaving but nine delegates, motion was made that the rules be suspended and that these nine delegates be declared elected as the Committee on Ways and Means.

Seconded and adopted.

The following delegates were then fore declared elected the *Committee on Ways and Means*: J. L. Cobb, California; C. H. Stockell, Tennessee; J. Lamb, Michigan; Guy Miller, Colorado; David Rubinow, New Jersey; Ohlund, Washington; John Kerrigan, Texas; H. J. Ammann, Wisconsin; John Hirt, Montana.

THE CHAIRMAN: The last committee to be elected is the Committee on Trades Unions, to consist of nine members.

DEL. LAMB (Mich.): Mr. Chairman and Comrades: If I understand the motion aright for the appointment of a Trades Union Committee, that committee is to consist of trades unionists Is that part of the motion?

THE CHAIRMAN: No, that was not part of the motion; any nine delegates. The secretary will please call the roll of states on the Trades Union Committee.

TRADES UNION COMMITTEE.

The secretary then called the roll of states, and the following nominations were made:

Alabama—Robinson (Ky.).
Arkansas—Farrell (O.).
California—Dobbs (N. Y.).
Colorado—Hayes (O.), Mitchell (Conn.).
Connecticut—White (Mass.).
Illinois—Meyer (Ill.).
Indiana—Hollenberger (Ind.).

Iowa—Jacobsen (Ia.) and Breckon (Ill.).
Kansas—Palmer (Mo.).
Kentucky—Steveman (N. Y.) and Bandlow (O.).
Maryland—Toole (Md.).
Massachusetts—Cary (Mass.) and Gibbs (Mass.).

Michigan—Menton (Mich.) and Hanford (N. Y.).

Minnesota—Bickett (O.), Steedman (Ill.).

Missouri—Barnes (Pa.), Steedman (Ill.), Webster (O.), Langworthy (Tex.) and Hoehn (Mo.).

Montana—McHugh (Mont.).

Nebraska—Nagel (Ky.).

New Jersey—Glanz (N. J.).
New York—Hunger (Wis.), Bandlow (O.) and Moore (Pa.).
Oklahoma—Hoehn (Mo.) and Zorn (O.).

Oregon—Maurer (Pa.).

Wisconsin—Turner (Mo.) and Collins (Ill.).

Delegates Dobbs, Meyer, Breckon, Palmer, Barnes, Bandlow, Moore, Langworthy, Steedman and Turner declined the nomination.

A delegate here suggested that the members nominated define their positions in regard to the trades union question.

THE CHAIRMAN: It was not the sense of the motion or adopted as part of it that trade unionists only be elected or that representatives of the two labor organizations be on the committee. We simply vote for the delegates and you take into consideration whatever they may know about the matter. It may be of some aid to you, Comrades, if you will hear the results of the election of the Committee on Resolutions, which the secretary will now read.

THE SECRETARY: The votes on that committee are as follows: Carey, 160; Hayes, 150; Lee, 120; Oneal, 94; Burrows, 84; Hazlett, 78; Spargo, 72; Klein, 60; Heydrick, 65; Deutzman, 23; Knowles, 19; Langworthy, 14; Littlefield, 29; Loudemilk, 15; Moore, 55; Nagel, 36; Putnam, 42; Reynolds, 61; Smith, 52; Southworth, 50; Spence, 54; Webster, 25; Wilson, 51; Lipscomb, 46; Hoehn, 6; Berlyn, 1; Mally, 1; Hanford, 1; Slobodin, 3; Floaten, 2.

The following delegates were declared elected the *Committee on Resolutions*: James F. Carey, Massachusetts; Max Hayes, Ohio; Algemon Lee, New

York; James Oneal, Indiana; Peter E. Burrows, New Jersey; Ida Crouch Hazlett, Colorado; John Spargo, New York; Nicholas Klein, Minnesota; Charles Heydrick, Pennsylvania.

DEL. HAYES (Ohio): While the ballots are being collected for the election of this last committee I would like to suggest, in order to get down to business, that the one receiving the highest number of votes on these various committees elected call the committees together this evening. I have had a little experience in some of these conventions, and it is generally the case that the work drags because the committees are slow in consideration of the propositions brought before them. A great deal of time could be saved if the committees could get together at once.

THE CHAIRMAN: I will announce that the National Secretary has made arrangements for all committees to meet at the Sherman House, on Clark and Randolph, for the reason that there are not sufficient accommodations at the River House. The members of the Committee on Platform will ask for the room of Geo. D. Herron; those serving on the Committee on Constitution will ask for my room, and all of the other committees will ask for Secretary Mally's room, who will reserve a number of rooms in his name for the use of the Committees. All committees will meet there at 8:30.

DEL. MALLY: I would suggest that those who have matters to be considered by the committees would do well to hand them in now.

THE CHAIRMAN: Of course, anyone desiring to submit matters to the committees can either go and appear personally before the committee or can hand them to members of the committee now.

DEL. STROBELL (N. J.): I would like to resign from the Press Committee, so you can put another man in my place.

THE CHAIRMAN: I will appoint Delegate S. M. Reynolds, of Indiana, to take the vacancy on the Press Committee.

The vote on the Committee on State and Municipal Program was announced as follows: Atkinson, 54; Bacon, 43; Beness, 41; Berger, 89; Dilno, 36; Floaten, 117; Gayford, 114; Kelly, 52; Hoehn, 13; Kraybill, 61; Latham, 24; Patton, 37; Rathbun, 24; Kelly, 38; Reynolds, 34;

Robinson, 45; Siedman, 114; Untermann, 127; Walsh, 19; Whiteclatch, 14; Work, 125.

The following delegates were declared elected to the *Committee on State and Municipal Program*: E. Untermann, Illinois; John M. Work, Iowa; A. H. Floaten, Colorado; W. R. Gaylord, Wisconsin; S. M. Reynolds, Indiana; Victor L. Berger, Wisconsin; Seymour Siedman, Illinois; L. R. Kraybill, Kansas; Warren Atkinson, New York.

THE CHAIRMAN: Does Delegate Reynolds prefer to serve on this committee or on the Press Committee?

A DELEGATE: He is not here.

DEL. SPARGO (N. Y.): There seems to be a misunderstanding as to the position of those delegates who have been elected on more than one committee. Some of the delegates who have been elected on more than one committee have expressed themselves as being uncertain, to say the least, as to whether they cannot serve upon both. I recollect very clearly that we have passed a motion that that is not the case, and that the delegates have to choose which of the two committees they wish to serve on so that the next man upon the committee from which they withdraw may be assigned to the committee. Now, the time has come when it is quite important that before we adjourn tonight the list of committees should be read, and those delegates who have been elected upon more than one committee, if that be the ruling of the convention, as I believe it is, must choose which committee they will serve upon, and this convention must know that the position has been filled.

THE CHAIRMAN: Delegate Spargo, it seems to me that the simplest way to do and to take the least time of the convention, will be to allow each delegate to hand his resignation to the chairman of that committee from which he desires to resign, and the chairman will then select the delegate having the next highest number of votes on the list of candidates to fill the vacancy.

DEL. SPARGO: The point is this: If he is only at the meeting of the committee with the delegation he chooses to serve with, and resigns from the other and his resignation is accepted, what knowledge have we that the other delegate entitled to serve on that committee will be reached by the chairman of that committee? He has a right to be

present during the entire session of the committee.

THE CHAIRMAN: There is no motion before the house.

DEL. SPARGO: A point of order. I want to know of the chairman whether such a rule has been passed?

THE CHAIRMAN: Such a rule has been passed, to the best of the knowledge, belief and information of the Chair.

DEL. SPARGO: I move you this before we adjourn we have the result of all elections of committees read, and that each delegate who may have been elected to two or more committees shall be called upon to state upon which committee he will serve. I want to emphasize the importance of that motion and from another point of view entirely, and it is as follows: That it may govern in the choice of a delegate as to which committee he will serve upon if he knows what delegate will be called upon to fill the vacancy. That makes all the difference in the world. It is an important point that we ought not to let go in this rush of matter.

Supplementary Report of Credentials Committee

Chairman Lee of the Committee on Credentials made the following supplementary report:

DEL. LEE: The Credentials Committee recommends that the following comrades be received as delegates to this convention: From Montana, J. H. Walsh and W. G. O'Malley; from New York, A. A. Mayell; from Oklahoma, there appeared an alternate and a delegate, with one seat to fill, and it appeared that the Territorial Secretary had instructed the alternate to appear here under the impression, perhaps, that the delegate was not going to appear; and by the consent of both of those, the alternate and the delegate, it was recommended that Delegates Smith and Renshaw be both seated, with each a half vote.

In regard to delegations in which some contests arise, we present the following report:

The following protest was received against the seating of Comrade Gridley, of Indiana:
To the Committee on Credentials:
Comrades: I desire to enter a protest against seating Comrade A. T.

Gridley, of Aurora, Ind., in this Convention, for the following reasons:

1. The Socialist party is opposed to compromise, fusion or political trading of any form, and the acceptance of appointment or election from any city government controlled by the parties of capitalism, is a violation of this principle of Socialist tactics.

2. It has recently come to my notice that Comrade A. T. Gridley, holding credentials from the State of Indiana, holds the position of city engineer in the city of Aurora, Ind., to which he was elected by a city council composed of Democrats, Republicans and Independents, and that this position was accepted and is still held by him, while retaining membership in Local Aurora of the Socialist party.

3. If the foregoing statement is true, as I believe it is, A. T. Gridley is unworthy of a seat in this convention.

WILL BARRY,
Delegate from Indiana.

Comrade Gridley made the following reply:

"May 1, 1904.

"To the Credentials Committee of the Socialist Party in National Convention Assembled:

"Gentlemen: I have a copy of the complaint filed by Comrade Barrett, of Indianapolis, Indiana.

"The complaint states a truth, but it does not state all the truth. I hold that position, which is not a political one, and I hold it as a known Socialist, and I am now a candidate for the mayoralty of the City of Aurora, nominated by the Socialist party of Aurora, unanimously.

"Further, I am an ex-soldier of the war of 1861-1865, and am not able to make a living at any other business than that of civil engineering, owing to disabilities incurred in the service.

"Further, I was elected to the office of city civil engineer of the City of Aurora, Indiana, nineteen years before there was a Socialist party in the State of Indiana, and I have performed those duties for that city continuously since.

"Further, if I had but been elected yesterday, I fail to observe any objection to taking capitalistic money (honestly earned) and spending it for Socialism.

"Further, if it is a Socialistic sin to

take pay from capitalists for service rendered, then I prefer the counter-charge against Comrade Barrett, that he is not competent to sit in the Socialist convention, for he works for a capitalist of the Republican persuasion, and is likewise guilty with myself in taking capitalistic money and using it to promote Socialism.

"Further, if your committee decide adversely to myself, I appeal from that decision to the Convention as a whole, where I will make a more extended reply. Yours truly,
"ALBERT T. GRIDLEY,
"Delegate from Indiana."

In view of the fact that no sufficiently definite party law has existed, we recommend that Comrade Gridley be seated. We also urge that the Convention adopt a clear rule to cover cases of this sort.

Comrade Titus dissents from the recommendations in this case and will present a minority report.

Credentials were received from H. Anielewski, A. Delski, S. Odalski and J. Liss, representing the Polish Socialist Alliance, who wish to confer with the Convention relative to affiliation with the Socialist Party. We recommend that a special committee of five be elected to meet this delegation and report to the Convention. The request of the Arkansass delegates to seat T. J. Hagerly in place of a delegate not present is reported to the Convention without recommendation, as no credentials were presented for your committee to act on. (Signed)

ALGERNON LEE, *Chairman*,
H. W. BISTORRUS, *Secretary*,
Committee on Credentials.

CHAIRMAN LEE of the Credentials Committee, continued: There remains one case to be taken up—that of the delegate from Utah. The Committee spent considerable time in hearing from Comrade Randall, who came and asked for credentials. After hearing the National Secretary's statement in the matter and hearing from several members on one side and the other, the Committee finds the case an exceedingly complicated one—a case that went back two years ago, but upon all of the evidence presented before the Committee the Committee comes to this recommendation. I will state to you what probably all are familiar with, that the state

charter of the State of Utah was revoked by the National Committee some months ago, because the State of Utah had not for a period of about a year paid any dues, and had failed to carry out certain arrangements alleged to have been made between it and the National Committee in regard to the payment of certain dues. Its charter was revoked, but now it appears this organization—which is not at present affiliated with the National Committee, sends its delegate here, and makes an offer to pay that back account, dating back a year or two years, according as we count from the time of the suspension or from the time when the account was incurred—offering to pay that account if their Delegate would be seated in this Convention. After hearing and considering the matter, this Committee recommends that Comrade Randall be not recognized as a delegate, but that the courtesy of a seat, without voice or vote, be extended to him.

THE CHAIRMAN: You have heard the supplementary report of the Committee on Credentials. What is your pleasure?

DEL. BICKETT (Ohio): I move that the report of the Committee on Credentials be made a special order of business for tomorrow morning.

The motion was seconded.

THE CHAIRMAN: What will you do with those upon whom the Committee has reported favorably?

It was moved and seconded that the report be adopted.

DEL. MEYER (Ill.): I move to amend that motion, that the matter pertaining to the contests be submitted to the Constitutional Committee of this Convention.

Not seconded.

The motion to accept the report of the Committee was adopted.

DEL. RICHARDSON (Cal.): I move that Comrade Hagerly be seated as a delegate.

The motion was duly seconded.

DEL. CAREY (Mass.): The report of the Committee is before us and it covers many different points. Wouldn't it be well to take up the different cases one at a time, so as to prevent confusion? I, therefore, suggest, or rather ask as a delegate, that we proceed to take up the report of the Committee on Credentials *seriatim*, so that each case may be acted upon by itself, and that

we may not make indiscriminate jobs at it.

THE CHAIRMAN: The first motion should have included a motion to act upon it *seriatim*.

DEL. BARNES (Penn.): The report has three distinct parts, and none of them are intricate. If we defeat any action upon Comrade Hagerly, covered now by the motion—

A delegate here raised the point of order that Comrade Barnes was not speaking to the motion before the House.

THE CHAIRMAN: The motion is made by Delegate Carey that we proceed to the consideration of the report *seriatim*.

A DELEGATE: Do I not understand that a motion has been made to seat Comrade Hagerly?

THE CHAIRMAN: That is a question of rule of procedure, and we cannot proceed with the substance of the report until this motion is disposed of. Let us take up this motion to proceed with the report *seriatim*.

The motion was seconded and adopted.

THE CHAIRMAN: The first matter presented by the Committee is a favorable report on a number of delegates.

DEL. MILLS (Kan.): I move that all those delegates favorably reported on be seated.

The motion was seconded.

A DELEGATE: Does that include Comrade Gridley, of Illinois?

THE CHAIRMAN: Yes.

THE DELEGATE: If that is the case—

DEL. MILLS: I make an exception of that. That is in the minority report and that would naturally be excepted.

THE CHAIRMAN: Delegate Mills amends his motion that all those delegates who have been favorably reported upon, on whom there is no contest of discussion, be seated. That will exclude Comrade Gridley.

Delegate Mills' motion was then adopted.

DEL. LEE (N. Y.): A delegate from Arkansas asks that the delegation from Arkansas not being full—that State being entitled to three delegates, and only two being here—that Comrade Hagerly should be seated as a delegate. But as Comrade Hagerly had not been elected as a delegate, but is simply an Arkansas representative here present, the Committee did not see that

it had anything to act upon, and referred the request to the Convention without recommendation.

DEL. RICHARDSON (Cal.): I renew my motion to seat Comrade Hagerly as a delegate from Arkansas.

The motion was duly seconded.

THE CHAIRMAN: I desire some information from the Committee on Credentials as to who has requested that Comrade Hagerly be seated, and upon what recommendation is he to be seated.

DEL. LATPHAM (Tex.): The State Chairman of Arkansas.

THE CHAIRMAN: Is the State Chairman of Arkansas present?

DEL. LEFEVER (Ark.): Yes, sir. Both delegates from Arkansas.

THE CHAIRMAN: I rule that the motion is out of order for the reason that we recognize only representatives of States elected one way or the other.

A delegate appealed from the decision of the Chair and Delegate Spargo, of New York, moved that the appeal be tabled.

Delegate Woodbey, of California, vice Chairman of the day, thereupon took the Chair and placed the question of appeal from the decision of the Chair before the convention.

DEL. SPARGO: I rise to a point of information. Is this question of appeal from the decision of the Chair debatable?

THE CHAIRMAN: I think not.

DEL. PARKS (Kan.): Roberts' Rules of Order says that in matters where it is not debatable that the question is to be put then without debate, and this is a subterfuge to lay it on the table. We will have to vote on the appeal and not on the question of laying it on the table.

THE CHAIRMAN: My opinion of it is that when the decision of the Chair is appealed from that a motion can be made to lay that appeal on the table.

DEL. PARKS: I have Roberts' Rules of Order here.

THE CHAIRMAN: Well, what does it say?

DEL. PARKS: It says a motion to lay on the table is not debatable and it cannot be amended.

THE CHAIRMAN: It has been moved and seconded to lay the appeal on the table. All in favor of it will indicate it by saying "aye."

A DELEGATE: I think the vote is confused. I don't think the members

know what they are voting about.

THE CHAIRMAN: Do you want to take your vote over again?

A DELEGATE: Yes.

THE CHAIRMAN: Let me explain: A decision of the Chair has been appealed from, and a motion has been made to lay that appeal from the decision of the Chair on the table. Now—

DEL. FLOATEN (Colo.): I am inclined to think that motion is out of order. I don't think you can lay an appeal on the table.

THE CHAIRMAN: I think it can be done very well.

The motion to lay the appeal on the table was carried, and the Chair thereby sustained in his decision that Delegate Richardson's motion to seat Comrade Hagerly was out of order. The Chairman of the day then resumed his position in the Chair.

DEL. CARR (Ill.): A question of privilege. I understand that if we adjourn now it will save the comrades \$12 for lights. I, therefore, move we adjourn.

Delegate Stedman raised the point of order that the convention, having voted to await the announcement of the results of election of committees before adjourning, that the motion to adjourn was not in order unless that action of the convention should be reconsidered.

The Chairman decided the point of order well taken, and upon a delegate stating that a motion to adjourn is always in order, the Chairman stated: "A motion to adjourn is always in order, but we have adopted a motion to adjourn under certain conditions, and we have to reconsider that before doing something else."

A Committee on Foreign-Speaking Organizations

DEL. LEE (N. Y.) For the Credentials Committee: H. Anielewski, A. Debiski, S. Odalski and J. Liss, from the Polish Socialist Alliance, wish to make arrangements if possible for affiliation with the Socialist party. Your committee recommends that a special committee of five be elected to meet these comrades and report to the convention. A motion was made to concur in the recommendation of the committee. Delegate Gaylord moved to amend to the effect that a committee be appointed by the Chair. The amendment was accepted by the mover of the motion and the motion was adopted as amended.

THE CHAIRMAN: It is so ordered.

and a committee of five will be appointed. The Chair will have to take particular pains, I suppose, in selecting men who can speak Polish. The Chair will appoint Comrades Algernon Lee of New York, Gaylord of Wisconsin, Hayman of Massachusetts, Sleverman of New York and Untermann of Illinois.

The Gridley Case

DEL. LEE: In the case of the protest against the seating of A. T. Gridley of Indiana, the committee recommends that Comrade Gridley be seated, and urges that this convention take measures to provide a definite and clear rule of the party in regard to the acceptance of appointment or employment by members of the party in cases of this sort. Comrade Titus has a minority report.

DEL. TITUS (Wash.): I should be unfaithful to the state that I represent and to my individual convictions if I did not present this minority report. The state of Washington has on numerous occasions taken referendum votes on this subject, and has invariably voted, as its constitution states also, that no member of the Socialist party shall receive an appointive or elective office at the hands of a capitalist government, the only exception being that of offices obtained under the civil service. Now, it would appear from an examination of Comrade Gridley's appointment that he was entitled to his position because of merit, and not because his appointment had any political significance. In Washington we rejected the application of Judge Windsor, one of the regents of the State University, who had been appointed by Gov. Rogers for political reasons, although Judge Windsor himself denied that he was under any obligation to the party that appointed him. We have had this again and again before us, and the party tactic there has been invariably as I said. I believe it to be good policy, and in harmony with that I present this motion: That Comrade Gridley be seated; that is the majority report, that he be seated; but the minority report adds this, that Comrade Gridley be seated on the explicit understanding, as the facts support, that his appointment was for merit only and had no political significance. I move the adoption of that motion. Seconded. DEL. GAYLORD (Wis.): I move to concur in the recommendation of the minority report, that Gridley be seated,

and to refer the other recommendation of the committee to the Committee on State and Municipal Program. Seconded.

THE CHAIRMAN: The motion was to concur in the recommendation of the Committee on Credentials. What was the recommendation of the Committee on Credentials? Did that include a reference to the Committee on State and Municipal Program?

DEL. LEE: That Gridley be seated and that some measures be taken to make a definite party law covering cases of this kind.

DEL. STEDMAN (Ill.): Ought it not to go to the Committee on Rules and not to the Committee on State and Municipal Program?

DEL. TITUS: A point of order, that my motion was seconded and will have to be put before the house.

DEL. LEE: In the name of the majority of the committee, I will say I can certainly accept and support Comrade Titus's motion, because it certainly was in the mind of every member of the majority, but we did not have it perhaps as clearly as he has stated. I think I can accept it.

THE CHAIRMAN: Then the recommendation of the Committee on Credentials will be unanimous to the effect that the delegate be seated, on the explicit understanding that his appointment was for merit only and had no political significance; also that a rule be provided for the guidance of the party for similar occasions in the future; is that correct?

DEL. LEE: Yes. THE CHAIRMAN: That satisfies both sides. Then the only motion before the house is to concur in that recommendation of the committee.

DEL. WALDHORST (Ala.): I think in this case that it would be entirely too previous to seat a man that has a position under a capitalist government. We have rejected in our state the applications of men, I believe, who held positions under a city government and held them for years, but every time the comrades have voted unanimously that no man, no matter who he was or what the position he held, if it was an appointive or elective office given by a capitalist government, that they did not belong in the Socialist party. (Applause.) It does not matter to me whether Comrade Gridley has a position of merit or anything else; if we accept it this time this case will come back

to us, and the same case will come up and create disturbance and dissatisfaction among the rank and file. I do not think this convention has any right to go beyond the ethics of Socialism as they are accepted. In no place has it been that a man in a capitalistic position, elected or appointed, under a capitalistic government has had a seat as delegate or officer of the Socialist party. I think it would be wrong to do that, whether the comrade is a good man or a good Socialist or anything else. He is only one man, and it is the whole principle that is at stake, and I think it would be entirely wrong and contrary to our principles to accept a man like that as a delegate to a convention. Now, this may appear and may be all right; I have no objection to that. But there is only one man here in this case, and a principle is at stake. In after years, when the party may grow larger than it is now, politician after politician of the old parties will seek admission into the party and at the same time hold a position with the Democratic or Republican or any other capitalistic party. There is a precedent to be settled, and that precedent should be settled right. If it does hurt the comrade I would be sorry to do it, but at the same time I cannot see my way out. I have talked Socialism as long as I have known what Socialism was, and that is a good many years, and I have always been taught that I am to have nothing to do with any capitalist party in any shape or form, and that I must not endorse any of their actions, no matter what they are. If I cannot vote a Socialist ticket I will stay away from the polls. If I cannot make my living without accepting a position under capitalism then I resign as a member of the Socialist party. (Applause.) If I must rely on a position like that, then I have no business in the party. I must go to the people to supply me that position and not to the Socialist party. I think any comrade that is a Socialist would not do that, for the simple reason that any position, it doesn't make any difference how gotten, from any government not connected with the Socialist movement, I certainly would not accept, even if it was a financial or money success to me. That is the way I look at it. If the party in Alabama knows it, away down in the South, they are going to hold that up to us. This report will go all over the United States

and it will be said that the Socialist party of America has seated a man that holds a position under a capitalist government. You have got enough things on hand now; what is the use of creating additional ones? You have been putting chains around our members, and they have been chained down and clubbed down and everything else, and I say it is in our power to do away with the evil and not attempt to establish a precedent that will be very hurtful in the future. If you read the report of the party committee of the Socialists of Germany you will find that the party unanimously—I believe there were only thirteen votes against it—decided that a man cannot hold office or run a capitalistic newspaper and have a position in the Socialist party. (Applause.) You know that as well as I do. That is my reason for not admitting men like that.

DEL. WOODBEY (Cal.): I am very much interested in the discussion of this question, because it is frequently coming up. But I know this, and you know it too, that every old soldier that to-day draws a pension from the United States Government does it under a capitalist government, and for merit, and at the same time it would exclude every soldier from the Socialist movement unless he gives up his pension, because, mark you, he draws his pension because of what he did in the army, and he gets it from and under a capitalist government. Out in California we have got a peculiar case. In the city charter of San Francisco there is this provision: That a board of election, commissioners, consisting of three persons, shall be appointed from the three parties highest in power, and the capitalist government has appointed a Socialist each time down to the present time, and they have refused to appoint one, and at present there is a contest in the courts as to whether the mayor has the right to do that sort of thing again. Now, referring to the Dresden Conference, it is well known that the German comrades, as I understand it, make no exception, but recommend that members go into the German army. They recommend that sort of thing, and they boast that a large number of the army of Germany is already Socialistic, understand. (Applause.) That is true in Germany, and there are other things that might be pointed out in Germany. I would like

to see this thing definitely settled, for it seems to me it is a very important point. Now, here is a man that works for a capitalist government. We all know that we work for capitalists when we work at all, and we would be pretty poor if we did not work for capitalists at all. It is a very nice point.

DEL. MILLS (Kan.): I am very sure that before we vote on this matter it would be wise for us to see how far we are ourselves responsible for the situation. At the unity convention in Indianapolis this question was discussed quite at length, and finally, because the delegates there assembled did not wish to commit themselves, they referred the matter by special resolution to the National Committee at that time. In the first session of the National Committee the matter was taken up and discussed for a long time, and finally no recommendation made. It has been taken up on various occasions. Some of the states have acted with regard to it and others have not. I believe there are a number of points involved in this matter with regard to which this convention ought to act. But if this comrade is out of place as a delegate, he is out of place as a member of a local, and the local is out of place as a member of the state party of Indiana, and Indiana is out of place in this convention. Now, it seems to me that the wise thing for us to do is to do exactly what is suggested by the committee—do not punish Indiana for our own faults. Let us make the rules, and, having made a rule, insist upon its being obeyed. But until we are willing to take some position assuming responsibility ourselves, we ought not to blame men for not obeying rules which we ourselves have refused to amend. (Applause.)

DEL. SPARGO (N. Y.): It seems to me that we might as well discuss this matter with some reference at least to the facts, and with some desire to discuss the matter at the present time in a way which will lead to the light. I yield to no comrade on the floor of this convention in my adherence to the principles of the working class movement. But, comrades, I believe that there comes a time when we follow the sound of revolution instead of the spirit of the revolution. I believe, in other words, that the comrades raising this objection and the comrades making this protest forget the real situation. There is no

gainsaying the facts; in many towns there are workmen, carpenters, painters, workmen of all grades, who are not employed under any civil service regulation who are employed by foremen elected by city councils, and the question of political persuasion never enters into it for a minute. There are men in the town who are working as carpenters for the corporation, for the town authorities, who have not been chosen because of any political view or any political services, rendered or prospective, but because the supply of men for those places is limited in that locality. Are you going to bar those men out of the Socialist party? I say, comrades, that if you are going to bar them from the convention you must close the door on them in the Socialist party itself, and I, for one, am not willing to debar any man from the Socialist party until it can be shown that the question of political service has entered into his appointment. (Applause.)

Comrades, what do we find? Here is a man who has been working in a certain position for a number of years. In apt time the message of Socialism reaches him, and he says, "I will throw my lot with this party," and he is admitted to the Socialist party, and the question then is whether after he has been admitted to the party, after he has served the party, we will admit him to a convention of the party. And, comrades, let me tell you this, that the moment the time comes when you say to a man that he is good enough to be in the party, but is not to be elected to its conventions, at that time you have sapped the very foundation of the integrity of the Socialist party. (Applause.) I am for the working class first last and all the time, but I am not going to vote that the working class shall commit suicide in this convention. I shall vote for the admission of this comrade because the party admitted that comrade to the party, and therefore I will admit him to the convention and vote for admitting him, because so long as he is a member of the Socialist party we have no right to close the door of the convention upon him.

THE CHAIRMAN: You seem to forget that we are not now making rules for our guidance in such cases, but merely discussing the question whether the present applicant shall be admitted and the rule subsequently made.

The previous question was moved by

an Ohio delegate, seconded and carried.

DEL. TOOLE (Md.): I want to speak in opposition to admitting the delegate, for the reason that Local Baltimore has had a case similar to this. We voted to expel a comrade for a cause exactly like this. A doctor in our local accepted a position as health warden, and he claimed, too, that it was for merit and all that sort of thing. But the fact of the case was that he was appointed at the advice of a Democratic politician. Now, then, Local Baltimore acted on this matter, and they decided that any man who holds a position under the Democratic or Republican party other than a civil service position shall not be eligible to membership in that local. As a delegate from Maryland and as a delegate from Baltimore, I must stand here and vote against the admission of that delegate, and that is why I want the floor. Otherwise my comrades in Baltimore would call me to account.

DEL. KEOWN (Mass.): I think the statement has been made that we would establish a precedent. I do not think so, because the committee who will later act on this may destroy the precedent. Nothing more: It seems to me the most heartless cruelty to take away the bread from the mouths of the workers, no matter how they may get it. We must remember that to-day we are in the situation of this delegate from Indiana. He either must give up his party, give up his views and ideals, or else give up his bread. It seems to me that we, as Socialists, who are uplifting and standing for humanity, would be guilty of the basest cruelty to take the bread out of a man's mouth by making him give up his ideals. It seems to me also that it is the height of foolishness for the Socialist party, which is looking for members to come in, to turn them back simply because they have an opportunity to make their bread under a capitalistic system. It is foolishness. We want all the members we can get. We want all the money we can get also. It is keeping the working class down to the lowest level instead of letting them rise up to the highest possible level. Let me call your attention also to the fact that it will keep them out of all municipal departments in cities such as I come from, the firemen and police department and all others. All those members are debarred not only from holding offices, but from being members of the Socialist party. It seems to

me the thing to do is to seat this delegate, and then let us decide on our course of action in the future.

A Connecticut delegate mentioned an instance where a member accepted a position as city scavenger, but the Socialist local voted charges against him for taking an appointment from the Democratic party.

DEL. ATKINSON (N. Y.): There is a little difference of opinion about seating this member, but it is difficult to make a rule. But this offers an illustration of just the kind of rule that we should make. This man holds his position, an appointive position, from a capitalist party, for merit. Now, he holds it because he is known as a Socialist agitator. Why do I know that? Because he was elected by his constituency to represent them in this convention. Now, he affords an illustration of just the line of distinction on which we should decide whether a man can be a member of the Socialist party and hold a position from a capitalist organization. Here is a man who holds a professional position where he must do a definite work for definite pay, a position which does not involve any political services. Now, let us seat this man, but let us make a rule that a Socialist may hold a position from a capitalist or business organization or a capitalist appointive position if he undoubtedly holds it for merit and for work done. But let us make a rule that no man shall be a member of the Socialist party or an officer of the same who holds a position from a capitalist organization of any kind which requires that he shall do political service or work having any political influence whatever.

DEL. HAWKINS (Neb.): If this comrade who wishes to get a seat in this convention can produce papers to the effect that he has passed a civil service examination, I for one, am satisfied to seat him. If these papers can not be produced I stand here as a representative from Nebraska, and while I have a chance to say so I want to go on record as being opposed to the seating of this delegate. I want it strictly understood, I want it to go on record, that I came here not for harmony; I came here to thresh out issues for the benefit of the working class. I take the stand and say that it would establish a precedent in this convention. I realize, as Comrade Spargo has already said, that it is not

policy to have any disruption at this time, but I will vote first, last and all the time in the interest of the working class. If we go to work and allow men to come into this convention who have been appointed or placed in capitalist positions from any other than from the point of merit, then I want to go on record as being opposed to it. If these papers can be produced I am then satisfied; otherwise I want to go on record.

DEL. MAILLY (Neb.) I speak in favor of seating Delegate Gridley, not because I can find any excuse for him holding this office. I do not. I can find absolutely no excuse for him. Only under the constitutional law of the party to-day the states are judges of their representation in these conventions, and as long as Comrade Gridley is a member of the party in Indiana he can be selected and can come into this convention. The only thing that this convention can decide is whether he is legally elected or not, but as to the choice of the delegates each organized state has its own will and desire and can follow its own wishes in the matter. But I want to go on record. I speak in favor of seating him because of the constitutional law of the party, and until you have a different law you must observe it. But I find absolutely no excuse for seating any man holding an office and elected by the Democratic or Republican party. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: The motion is to concur in the recommendation of the Committee on Credentials, as follows: That the candidate be seated, on the explicit understanding that his appointment was for merit only and has no political significance; and provided further, that this convention adopt a rule to cover the subject in the future.

Motion put and carried.

Delegate Waldborst of Alabama demanded a roll call by states. Seconded.

DEL. PARKS (Kan.): That ought to be a debatable question.

THE CHAIRMAN: That is not debatable. A majority may call for a roll call, and whether there is a majority or not will be found by the vote.

The question was put, but the result not announced.

A division was called for.

THE CHAIRMAN: A division has been called for. All those in favor of having a roll call on this question will

please rise. All opposed will please rise. The vote is 58 against 28 in favor. The motion is lost.

A motion to adjourn was here renewed.

THE CHAIRMAN: A motion to adjourn is not in order under the previous ruling of the Chair.

A DELEGATE: A motion was carried to continue this session for forty-five minutes. That time has elapsed and we have now reached the end of the session.

THE CHAIRMAN: The point of order raised by the delegate is not well taken. The motion was to remain in session until all the committees were elected and disposed of. Comrades, I desire to say, if it is proper for the Chair to make a suggestion, that we ought to postpone the evening session to-night. It will be late when we get through here and we are all tired, and I suggest that probably a motion had better be made to adjourn the convention at the close of this session until to-morrow morning. That will give the committees time to work this evening and shape up their matters, and so if we postpone the session to-night we will be in much better shape to go on in the morning.

DEL. RICHARDSON (Cal.): I see a little feeling on the part of the delegates in regard to this question of adjournment. Therefore, I move that those who desire to register their opposition on this motion that has just passed be permitted to do so by saying not more than fifty words, and that their opposition be filed with the Secretary.

THE CHAIRMAN: I will have to decline that for two reasons: First, we have adopted our rules, and second, we are not discussing the rules, but are on the report of the Credentials Committee. The chairman of the Credentials Committee has the floor, if he is ready to render his additional report.

The Utah Case

DEL. LEE (N. Y.): In the case of Charles Randall of Utah, who appeared before your committee, your committee recommends that he be not seated as a delegate, but that he be extended the courtesy of a seat, without voice or vote in the convention.

Motion was made to concur in the recommendation of the committee, which motion was seconded.

A delegate from Ohio moved as an

amendment that the comrade be given a right to speak.

Amendment seconded.

THE CHAIRMAN: The amendment is that the comrade from Utah be given a seat and voice, but not a vote, in this convention.

DEL. LEE (N. Y.): Comrade Chairman, in the committee we discussed this, and I want to explain to you just how this matter came up, because I want you to understand that the committee regarded it as exactly what I have called it, a courtesy, when it recommended that Comrade Randall be admitted to a seat on the floor of the convention. We considered whether we could so far extend this vote, and we came to the conclusion that upon all the evidence and all the facts before us there could be no reason why he have this, any more than any other of these visiting comrades who have been elected as alternates from regularly organized and working states, or hard-working comrades who have taken the trouble to come here to see this convention. We would like to give them all a voice on the floor of this convention, but it is impossible to do business in that way, and we could see no more reason why this comrade, who does not represent a working organization of the socialist party, who does not represent an organization that this party recognizes at all, we could see no more reason why he should be given the right to take part in the discussions of this convention than in the case we have already passed upon of the comrade from Arkansas, who personally requested that he should be seated. We asked that he be given the courtesy of a seat in the convention simply as a courtesy, because it seemed that it might have a certain effect in bringing about and showing a desire upon our part to bring these troubles to an end. Beyond that the committee felt that it could not go, and beyond that I believe the convention should not go. That is, should not seat or give a voice to any one who is not a delegate to this convention. (Loud applause.)

A delegate here moved the previous question.

DEL. BERGER (Wis.): Comrade Chairman, I rise to a question of privilege. I want to ask whether the delegate has paid any money.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Credentials Committee has reported to the best of

my recollection, in regard to what he has paid.

DEL. LEONARD (Minn.): I move the previous question.

The motion was seconded.

THE CHAIRMAN: The previous question has been moved, and the motion seconded. There are three minutes on each side for debate, for and against. There was no debate and the motion to concur in the committee's report was adopted.

DEL. MILLS (Kan.): I wish to give notice that I shall make a motion in connection with the Utah matter before we adjourn. I wish to make that announcement in order not to seem to have occurred in its final disposition.

A DELEGATE: Comrade Chairman, if I remember aright there was an amendment that the report of the Committee on Credentials be amended so as to add a seat and voice.

THE CHAIRMAN: That amendment was made, but to the best of my recollection it was not seconded, and the only thing that remained was the motion to concur in the recommendation of the Committee on Credentials. I will now announce the vote for members of the Trades Union Committee, as follows: Robinson, 27; Farrell, 26; Hayes, 128; Miller, 92; White, 66; Walsh, 27; Deutzman, 20; Hollenberger, 19; Jacobson, 15; Sieverman, 85; Toole, 7; Carey, 116; Gibbs, 20; Hanford, 104; Bickett, 22; Hoehn, 97; McHugh, 21; Nagel, 70; Glanz, 20; Hunger, 79; Menton, 21; Zorn, 42; Maurer, 20; Webster, 17; Langworthy, 18; Collins, 91; Kraybill, 1; Dobbs, 3; Bandlow, 5; Stedman, 1; Turner, 11; Walker, 3; Breckon, 8; Mailly, 8; Palmer, 1; Barnes, 8; Spargo, 1; Beryn, 1; Moore, 2.

The following delegates, therefore, were declared elected the *Trades Union Committee*: Max S. Hayes, Ohio; James F. Carey, Massachusetts; Guy Miller, Colorado; Ben Hanford, New York; G. A. Hoehn, Missouri; John Collins, Illinois; Frank Sieverman, New York; Adam Nagel, Kentucky; Jacob Hunger, Wisconsin.

THE CHAIRMAN: We now have the complete list of committees and we will now, according to our motion, read over all the lists and dispose of those who appear on several committees.

Delegate Hanford retired from the Trades Union Committee and Dan A. White of Massachusetts was substituted.

Delegate Berger retired from the Committee on State and Municipal Program, and J. J. Kelly of Massachusetts was substituted.

Delegate Carey retired from the Committee on Resolutions and Edward Moore of Pennsylvania was substituted. Delegate Hayes retired from the Committee on Resolutions and J. M. A. Spence of Wisconsin was substituted.

The Chairman appointed Delegate R. A. Southworth of Colorado on the Press Committee as substitute for Delegate Reynolds, who preferred to act on the Committee on State and Municipal Program.

The regular order of business was then resumed.

DEL. BRANDT (Mass.): Mr. Chairman, I rise to a point of information.

THE CHAIRMAN: To what do you rise?

DEL. BRANDT: I rise to say just one word before we adjourn.

THE CHAIRMAN: On what?

DEL. BRANDT: I believe the Chair stated that the committees would meet at 9 o'clock.

THE CHAIRMAN: I have not said the committees would meet. I said the suggestion was made that we do not hold any convention session to-night, as we are not in shape to do any work, and this convention when it adjourns, adjourn to meet at one thirty to-morrow afternoon.

DEL. PARKS (Kan.): I rise to a point of order.

THE CHAIRMAN: What is your point of order?

DEL. PARKS: Mr. Chairman, I desire to say that you have no authority to make such a statement as you have made here, because we have got it fixed in our rules the way we shall meet and the way we shall adjourn.

THE CHAIRMAN: Are you through with your point of order?

DEL. PARKS: I am.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Chair will rule that the point of order is not well taken.

DEL. PARKS: I appeal from the decision of the Chair on that point, that he has no authority to make that statement.

DEL. STEDMAN: I move you, Mr. Chairman, that—

DEL. BRANDT: Comrade Chairman, I have the floor.

THE CHAIRMAN: Comrade Brandt,

you have the floor unless you are willing to waive it temporarily as a favor to Comrade Stedman, to allow him to finish his motion.

DEL. BRANDT: Very well.

DEL. STEDMAN: I move you, Comrade Chairman, that the rules be suspended and that when we adjourn we adjourn to meet at one thirty o'clock to-morrow.

The motion was seconded.

DEL. BRANDT: Comrade Chairman, that was just exactly what I wanted to say a few words about.

THE CHAIRMAN: Well, it didn't take him long to say it. (Laughter.)

DEL. BRANDT: I simply object to adjourning till to-morrow until one thirty for this reason: Your committees will meet at nine o'clock, but what work have they got to do? Nothing. You have got to give them some work. Where are your resolutions coming from? Are you going to meet here, or do you go up and put in your resolutions?

THE CHAIRMAN: Delegate Brandt, we will announce beforehand where the committees are to meet. Whoever has resolutions or anything else to offer will go and offer them. As to the other committees, they have very definite matters to discuss.

DEL. CAREY (Mass.): Comrade Chairman.

THE CHAIRMAN: Delegate Carey, DEL. PARKS: I rise to a point of order. (Laughter.)

THE CHAIRMAN: Delegate Carey has the floor, Comrade Parks.

DEL. CAREY: In order to have no possible conflict with Roberts—

DEL. PARKS: I rise to a point of order.

THE CHAIRMAN: Be seated; I haven't recognized you, sir. Comrade Parks will kindly be seated. Delegate Carey of Massachusetts has the floor.

DEL. CAREY: In order to avoid a possible conflict with Roberts (Laughter) I desire to suggest that the motion made by Comrade Stedman is to suspend the rules, and his desire is simply to suspend the rules pertaining to the hour we meet.

THE CHAIRMAN: Yes.

DEL. CAREY: And that, therefore, it is not necessary to suspend all the rules.

THE CHAIRMAN: That was not the motion.

DEL. CAREY: The motion was that the rules be suspended.

THE CHAIRMAN: The rules concerning the hour of meeting for to-morrow, that is about all.

DEL. CAREY: Very well, but it was not so stated, and I desire to avoid a conflict with Roberts. (Laughter and applause.)

The question was here called for.

THE CHAIRMAN: All those in favor of the motion which is in substance that we adjourn now to assemble at one thirty o'clock to-morrow afternoon, and let the committees work in the meanwhile, will please say "Aye."

The motion was carried and the convention adjourned until one thirty p. m., Tuesday, May 3.

THIRD DAY'S SESSION

Secretary Mally called the convention to order at 1:30 o'clock.

Delegate Richardson of California was nominated for Chairman of the day by Delegate McKee of California. There being no other nominations, Delegate Richardson was unanimously elected Chairman.

For Vice-Chairman Delegate Snyder of Oklahoma and Delegate Stockell of Tennessee were nominated. Delegate Stockell was elected, and in the absence of the Chairman the Vice-Chairman took the chair.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN: The first order of business is the report of the Committee on Credentials.

The Committee on Credentials, through Delegate Lee, presented a report recommending the admission of Frederick W. Ott as delegate from Wyoming, and Frederick G. Strickland as alternate from Colorado.

On motion of Delegate Jacobsen (Iowa) the report was accepted and the delegates seated.

Cablegram

Delegate Jonas (N. Y.) read in German to the convention a cablegram from the Executive Committee of the Social Democratic party of Germany. Secretary Dobbs read an English translation of the cablegram, as follows:

"National Convention Socialist Party, Chicago, Brand's Hall:

"All hail to the comrades assembled for the important work of selecting presidential candidates. Three cheers for the International Socialist Movement.

"The Executive Committee of the Social Democratic Party of Germany."

The reading of the cablegram was received with great enthusiasm.

Delegate Mally moved that a return cablegram be sent to the German comrades. Seconded and carried.

DEL. LEE (N. Y.): I desire to make a motion, pending the report of the Committee on Credentials. Last night there was elected a committee to meet the delegates of the Polish Socialist Alliance. Now it has come to the

knowledge of the members of this committee that somewhat similar question will come up in the convention concerning the Italian and other organizations. I would move, therefore, that the functions of this committee be extended so as to include all similar organizations in the United States. Seconded.

A DELEGATE: I desire to move an amendment that the functions of the committee elected to confer with the delegates of the Polish Socialist Alliance be so extended as to cover the whole subject of the organization and affiliation of the foreign speaking Socialists in America.

Seconded, and motion as amended carried.

Delegate Lee from the Committee on Credentials presented the following additional credentials: From Delegate Emil Seidel, F. Brockhausen and Frederick Heath, all of Wisconsin; and Frank Kuntz, alternate from Colorado. The committee recommended the seating of the delegates, and the recommendation was concurred in by the convention.

DEL. LEONARD (Minn.): At the next meeting I shall move to amend Rule 17 so that the same may read as follows: "Robert's Rules of Order shall be used, with the exception that when the previous question shall have been called for on matters involved in or pertaining to reports of committees three delegates on each side of the question shall be allowed three minutes each for closing the debate before such question is put."

DEL. HANFORD (N. Y.): I move that we proceed to the regular order. Motion seconded and carried.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN: The first order of business is the report of the National Secretary.

National Secretary's Report

National Secretary Mally then read his report, as follows:

Comrades: In submitting this report as National Secretary of the Socialist party, I shall confine myself to those questions which I have come to

consider as essential to the development and progress of the party organization, believing that in the settlement of these questions is bound up the future of the movement in whose interest this convention has been assembled.

The industrial and political situation, presenting new phases from day to day, will continue to give birth to problems which will demand the earliest attention of all Socialists, and our ability to meet these problems and successfully dispose of them will depend more than all else upon the strength and compactness of the organization representing the Socialist movement of this country. More than ever Socialists must realize that before they can expect to be thought capable of administering and directing the affairs of this or any other nation, they must first prove their fitness for the task by displaying the ability to administer and direct the affairs of a political organization representing the interests of the working class, and it is to this task that I believe their best efforts and most conscientious endeavor should be applied for some time to come. In short, the government of the Socialist party organization must be the means of fitting its members for the larger duties and greater responsibilities that the future holds for them.

I desire to emphasize, therefore, the necessity of our members giving increased attention to the methods of transacting the party business in their respective local, state and national organizations. They must acquaint themselves thoroughly with all the executive and administrative details, such as conducting business meetings and correspondence, keeping accounts, making reports, and other duties involved in the general government of the party. They should post themselves as far as possible upon the detail of party activity in every field and they should elect as their officials and representatives only those comrades whose fitness especially qualifies them for these positions. More important still, they must continue to develop the spirit of self-confidence, of dependence upon themselves, of faith in their ability through their own foresight and wisdom to settle all the problems and overcome all the difficulties which lie

between here and the Co-operative Commonwealth.

Of the writing of books, the making of speeches, and the editing and publishing of papers, there is no end, but there is an appreciable lack of application to the executive branches of our party work. However important the literary and other educational features of the movement may be, yet these factors will continue to be more or less barren of results so long as the party organization is not properly equipped to take full advantage of them. Heretofore (and this was perhaps unavoidable in the early stages of the movement) the greatest amount of energy has been expended upon the dissemination of literature and the holding of public meetings, regardless of the methods employed or of any direct purpose to which the results accruing therefrom were to be applied. There was competition instead of co-operation, and a consequent waste of energy, money and enthusiasm. As one result, there is now in this country a tremendous amount of Socialist sentiment of which we cannot take advantage because our organization is not yet in a position to do so. From this time forward we should try to adjust the mechanism of the party to secure the best results with the least expenditure of effort and money, so that the gathering forces of Socialist thought and sentiment can find concrete expression at the ballot box.

Perhaps no other task to which a Socialist can apply himself offers less of individual glory or immediate reward than that of faithful participation in and unemitting devotion to the details of party organization, but this very fact makes it all the more necessary that the task should be undertaken. It is easy and convenient to let things run themselves, but sooner or later the party members pay the penalty for their indifference or carelessness by becoming involved in disagreeable situations which create discouragement and disgust, but which could have been well avoided in the first place. The lecturer or writer will always flourish and receive his proper need of public reward and admiration. For this reason these positions will naturally be the most coveted, and the persons holding them will continue to have a greater personal influence

through their association directly and indirectly with the general membership.

For example, during the past year the number of applications for commissions as national organizers and lecturers has far exceeded the actual number within the ability of the national headquarters to employ at a given time. The comrades filing these applications were in many instances new and inexperienced, but filled with a creditable enthusiasm to be of service to the movement. Several others were from comrades of more experience, but displaying a singular lack of comprehension of the scope and character of the party work. A majority of the applicants desired to be placed at work at once, and some were so insistent that they would brook no delay, and appeared aggrieved when their wishes could not be gratified.

It did not seem to occur to these comrades that, however worthy their motives and ambitions might be, it was quite impossible for the national headquarters to utilize all the available material placed at its disposal. Nor did they seem to realize that there were other ways through which they could perform valuable service to the movement, ways relatively as important as those sought for, although offering fewer inducements to the enthusiast, but requiring qualities of the highest possible value to the cause of Socialism.

The comrade, however, who assumes the burden of executive and organizing detail must be prepared to accept responsibilities which are comparatively unknown to the worker in other fields. Such a comrade must be possessed of patience with himself and others. He must exercise caution, fortitude and courage. He must be impersonal and impartial. He must be prepared to accept the will of those for and with whom he works, even at the temporary sacrifice of his own opinions. And, above all, he must expect to be misunderstood and misrepresented by those to whom his services are devoted.

All of this will be difficult and disagreeable and other lines of work will offer greater attractions, but none will bring the immediate and permanent benefit to the Socialist movement faster than this one will. This fact in

itself will be the most satisfying and satisfactory reward that can come to any Socialist. If the course indicated has not been followed more generally in the past it is not because the will to serve the movement has been lacking, but because the relative importance of this special phase of the party work has not been recognized. It only requires such recognition to call into action the latent executive ability which now lies dormant in the membership everywhere and upon the development and exercise of which the future success of our movement greatly depends.

This subject has also another phase which should not be overlooked. If the Socialist party differs from other political organizations, it is in this: that the membership and not a few leaders control and direct the movement. It is this very difference which constitutes its chief strength and must make it unconquerable and triumphant in the future. The organization must be democratic in the true sense of the word or lose its identity as one representing the working class movement to democratize the world. It follows, therefore, that only in the encouragement and development of self-government within the organization can the spirit and practice of democracy be maintained and the movement held to its true course. Embodiment as it does the vital principles which make for the liberation of mankind from all forms of industrial and political despotism, the Socialist party must announce, through its own actions, democracy as a fact limited only by those restrictions which capitalist conditions impose upon it.

But we should understand that a democratic movement does not imply unrestricted individualism, as some comrades seem to believe. True democracy involves co-operation, and upon our ability to co-operate successfully everything depends. And co-operation in turn involves adaptation to one another; the ability to accept the will of the majority wherever and whenever expressed, as our individual will, until such time as our individual will can be expressed by the majority. And this again in turn involves faith in the movement as an organized force, the exercise of charity toward each other and the prevalence of

the spirit of comradeship throughout the movement.

Nowhere, perhaps, in the capitalist world will it be more difficult to organize a Socialist movement upon purely democratic lines than in this country, where the spirit of individualism has been distorted out of its true proportions until the simplest rules of organization are condemned even by some Socialists as "bureaucratic." These have yet to learn that the purest and highest individualism is that which can subserve itself when occasion requires, to the social will and social good. The real bureaucracy to fear is that which would make a few people the ungoverned and ungovernable authorities and dictators of the movement. There need be no fear of any kind of a bureaucracy so long as the party machinery remains in the hands and under the control of an alert and enlightened membership.

When these self-evident propositions become more generally recognized and accepted by Socialists everywhere there will be fewer locals disbanded after a short and precarious existence, and lapses in membership will become less frequent. It is an encouraging sign that the number of comrades giving their attention to this subject is increasing, and with a still greater consideration we can confidently expect a stronger and more effective organization with which to conduct the struggle with the rapidly combining forces of the capitalist enemy.

THE NATIONAL CONSTITUTION.

The present condition of the party organization is generally satisfactory, when the stage of its progress is considered. The form of organization is as yet practically new, and difficulties have been presented as a consequence which, with a revision of the constitution and the development of the organization, should gradually disappear. The present constitution was a hastily prepared document, and it was natural that it should be faulty in construction, although basically correct.

My ideas upon the character that the organization should take have been expressed elsewhere as follows: "The Socialist party must be more than a mere political machine; it must be so managed and controlled that the highest degree of democracy consistent

with efficiency as the directing force of Socialist activity must be attained. More and more we must provide for a decentralization of authority, and the concentration of the forces of agitation and education. The national headquarters should be the nerve center of Socialist activity, the clearing house through which the different state organizations can be kept in close touch and sympathy with each other, thus ensuring an objective point at which the organized Socialist forces can converge and act unitedly.

The chief problem before us, then, as an organized body, is how to combine democracy in management, efficiency in action and economy in labor and expense, so that the best and most permanent results can be obtained.

The existing political system requires that state autonomy must necessarily continue to be the basis of organization, but its boundaries and limitations must be more definitely prescribed. There has been a tendency toward exclusiveness, to place the interests of a single state organization above those of the party at large, a tendency as injurious as the other extreme of concentrating authority over the membership in a central committee. One carries state autonomy to the extreme and makes toward anarchy; the other denies democracy and makes toward absolutism. Both are dangerous and can only result in dry rot. Our national organization must be fluid enough to invite or encourage neither one nor the other.

Under the present constitution there is danger from both. The national officials may become aware, through the positions they hold, that the officials of a state organization are, unknown to the membership, either neglecting their duties or perverting their powers, to the injury of the party in that state or the entire country, and yet the national officers are powerless to act. Provision should be made for action in such cases, although such action should not be arbitrary or authoritative, but merely along the lines of suggestion, information or investigation, leaving final action to the membership of the state itself.

On the other hand, there is no constitutional preventive against representatives or members of one state or organization interfering with or usurp-

ing the duties or rights of other state organizations and their members, or the duties and rights of the national organization in unorganized states and territories. The activities of state officials should be confined to their own states where their responsibility lies, except when agreement is specifically made either with other state organizations or the national organization, as the case may be.

There should also be constitutional regulations to protect the national party against the violation of the principles and platform of the Socialist party in any organized state or territory.

The qualifications for membership in the party should be made as uniform as possible in all states so that all members may enjoy equal privileges. A system of regulation of transference of membership from one state to another should also be adopted.

In order to avoid the recurrence of having state organizations formed where geographical or other conditions are unfavorable to their effective or permanent existence, the membership in any unorganized state or territory should reach a certain number before the movement for a state organization can be initiated. Eagerness to establish state organizations before conditions were ripe for them has resulted disastrously in several places through failure on the part of these organizations to properly maintain themselves when thrown upon their own resources. The national office can usually take better care of locals in unorganized states and territories until conditions make a state or territorial organization necessary and justifiable.

THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE

The present form of the national committee elected from the various state organizations is objectionable and should be abolished. The principal objection lies in its fostering of factional divisions in the party. The national committee is supposed to represent the entire party and to act upon matters affecting all the states, while at the same time its individual members are only responsible for their actions to the respective state organizations which elect them, so that the party has absolutely no jurisdiction

or control over any or all of them. Experience has also already shown that it is impossible to devise a basis of representation upon the committee which will permit of equal representation from all the states. The size of the committee makes the method of transacting business cumbersome, exhausting and expensive.

As a substitute for this I would suggest that there be a National Executive Committee, to consist of seven or nine members selected by referendum of the party at large, regardless of section, with each and all members subject to recall. This would give the entire party membership the choice of its administrative body and ensure representation to the locals in unorganized states and territories which have now no voice in the councils of the party, although contributing financially to its support. The National Secretary should be under the direct supervision of the National Executive Committee, but elected by referendum of the party membership. The act of the committee upon all matters referred to it could be published regularly in a bulletin issued for that purpose and furnished to every party member.

THE REFERENDUM.

The initiative and referendum involves a principle too sacred and valuable to be used lightly. Recently two referendums were taken upon the same subject within thirty days of each other, and as a result there are now two contradictory clauses in the present national constitution. The provisions for initiating referendums should be changed to conform to the growth of the organization and propositions should be limited in length. A law should be in force and effect at least ninety days before another law upon the same subject could be initiated and submitted to a referendum.

ORGANIZATION AND AGITATION

The work done by the national organizers during the past fifteen months has been productive of much good and seems to have given general satisfaction. The expense incurred in placing and keeping these organizers in the field has been greater than will probably be the case in the future, as the ground covered by

them was mostly new. The financial support given them has been encouraging and gratifying, although in a number of cases the comrades at various places did not appear to realize the great responsibility borne by the national headquarters for these organizers. The idea seemed to prevail that because the organizers traveled for the national organization there was no need of rendering any financial assistance. If the national office had unlimited resources at its command this belief might be warranted, but the contrary is true, so that this word upon the matter may not be amiss.

As the different state organizations develop they will be able to employ their own organizers, and the necessity for national organizers will become lessened. The present method of selecting national organizers and lecturers could be improved upon, however, by the requirement of certain qualifications upon the part of applicants, such as length of party service, special knowledge of Socialism, and the details of organization, etc.

I take the liberty of proposing to the convention the creation of the office of General Organizer. The activities of this official would not be restricted to any section, and his services would be available at all times for the purpose of representing the national organization whenever occasion would require personal investigation and action. There has been need of such an official several times during the past year, and it is my opinion that sooner or later one will have to be selected. The duties of this official would cover a wide field and his work could be of great value to the party.

Propositions will probably be made at this convention for the formation of the foreign-speaking workers into separate federations to be affiliated with the national organization. This is a matter which should receive your careful consideration, as it is necessary that the national party secure the active co-operation of the workers of all nationalities in the movement against capitalism. Whether it would be better to have federations as proposed, or to have these workers organized direct into locals and branches of the party is a new question which the convention will have to pass upon in some

specific manner so that a definite line of action can be pursued.

NATIONAL LECTURERS.

Until recently the condition of the party organization made it impossible to have very much system in the arranging of tours for party lecturers who had formerly usually traveled at high expense to the locals and often times at great inconvenience and hardship to the speakers themselves. To remedy this I have attempted, in accordance with instructions from the National Committee, to formulate a definite system of lecture work which would enable the party locals to engage capable lecturers at a normal expense, while guaranteeing these lecturers sufficient remuneration for the labor and time expended.

While this work has been fairly successful, yet it has been attended by difficulties only to be appreciated by those in the national office and into the details of which it is unnecessary to enter here. Some of these difficulties could be obviated by the adoption of definite rules to govern the routing of interstate speakers, which rules would preserve the integrity of the state organizations within their respective boundaries, while also facilitating the general arrangement of engagements with the locals.

This would prevent the confusion and unnecessary expense which have been caused by state organizations assuming the work of routing lecturers and organizers when they were unable, for various reasons, to perform the work properly. The blame for this state of affairs has been mostly directed at the national office, when the facts are that in almost every case the routing done by the latter has been more satisfactory in every way. With the facilities now in use, speakers and organizers can be routed from the national headquarters much more economically than otherwise. Especially is this true of those states in close proximity to the seat of the national headquarters.

The effort to establish a lecture system such as I have outlined caused the circulation of a report that I was attempting to form what was termed a "bureaucracy" at national headquarters for the purpose of victimizing certain speakers and driving them from the field. I take this opportunity, the

first presented to me, to state that this report was entirely unwarranted, that I was not actuated by personal motives of any kind, and that I had no other purpose than the co-ordination of the party forces upon a scale which would guarantee economy and better results in the future. Regardless of contrary opinions, a system for handling Socialist speakers must be perfected if we are to keep step with the forces which we recognize and proclaim to be at work in society.

During the infancy of the organized movement when pioneer work was the rule and Socialists were widely scattered and isolated from each other, the question of control of speakers did not arise, except in well-organized sections of the country. But since the party has developed into a national organization the question has arisen and provoked discussion. This is a healthy sign and should be taken as an indication of growth. The question can only be settled in one way, and that way is the one in harmony with the law of organization and co-ordination. Those who assume to speak for the Socialist Party should be prepared to accept the control of the party. If the Socialist Party is to be held responsible for them, then they should be held responsible to the party; the local workers to the local organizations, the state workers to the state organizations, and the national workers to the national organization. The question of remuneration is a minor one which will gradually adjust itself.

SUPPLIES.

Changes in the form and quality of organizing and other supplies have been made from time to time and a normal price charged in order to bring them within easy reach of all state and local organizations. Various circumstances have prevented us from furnishing locals with sets of books for officials, although the forms for these books have been ready for some time. If ordered in large quantities for cash the books can be secured at a nominal cost, but so far the state of our finances would not warrant the incurrence of this expense. A set of books for state secretaries has also been devised, and when put into use

will go far toward systematizing the work of these officials.

BULLETINS AND REPORTS.

The issuance of weekly bulletin and reports chronicling party affairs and activity has proven of such value that steps should be taken to extend the service. It is essential that the membership be fully informed upon the action of the party officials and party affairs in general. The space in the Socialist press is too limited to publish all of this information, which is of more or less importance. I believe a monthly bulletin should be issued in printed form devoid of editorial matter and devoted entirely to financial, national committee, and organizers' reports, and other details of an official character. The bulletin could be printed in quantities sufficient to reach every member. This would not prevent the continued issuance to the party press of a weekly bulletin reporting current items of immediate importance.

EXPENSES OF DELEGATES TO NATIONAL CONVENTION.

I would also suggest that means be provided for the payment direct through the national organization of the expenses of delegates to the national conventions. A general assessment of a nominal sum from each member for this specific purpose and levied before the convention would undoubtedly furnish a sufficient amount to cover these expenses, thus ensuring representation from all the states. The basis of representation could be changed, but a more general attendance would be secured. The adoption of this proposition would place all aspirants for election on delegates in the different states upon the same footing and eliminate the tendency to select delegates because of their ability to defray their own expenses to and from the conventions.

THE SOCIALIST PRESS.

The Socialist party press is gaining steadily in numbers and influence and with its further development will become a most potent factor in shaping the destinies of the movement. Without doubt the general literary and spiritual quality of the press is im-

proving and Socialists are rapidly realizing the urgent necessity for a press that can fittingly represent the Socialist party. The practice of beginning the publication of local papers before the condition of the movement warrants their continuance has a tendency to detract from the general effectiveness and stability of papers with established circulations, besides making for the dissipation of the limited resources of the comrades. It is much better to increase the usefulness of papers already in the field than to embark upon undertakings which have little certainty of prolonged existence.

The sentiment for an official organ to be published by the national organization may justify me in stating my views in opposition to such a proposition. Past experience in this direction should be ample warning against its adoption. I believe also that the existence of an independent press, free of party control, except in localities where published, is one of the strongest safeguards toward protecting and preserving the party's integrity that we have today. Such a press provides a sure medium for the expression of individual opinion, thus guaranteeing free speech and criticism and preventing the creation of the censorship which has hitherto almost invariably grown out of the placing of official organs in the hands of party officials. In this field, at least, we can afford to have competition, and the survival of the most fit will depend upon the increased knowledge of Socialism and the intellectual development of the Socialists themselves.

CONCLUSION.

I have not considered it necessary to repeat what has already been included in my last annual report. A summary of the financial condition of the national office is herewith appended. If the showing therein made seems unfavorable, the comrades will bear in mind that the expense recently incurred by assisting the party in Colorado and in the Milwaukee municipal campaign has been especially heavy. Economy will be exercised during the next two months with the expectation that the national campaign will be entered upon free of debt.

I take pleasure in again expressing

my appreciation of the co-operation rendered me in my work as your National Secretary by the assistants in the national office, Comrades W. E. Clark, Chas. R. Martin and James Oneal. They have worked capably and faithfully for the party's interests, and this slight recognition, although inadequate to the proportion of their services, is the least that is due them. I cordially acknowledge also the courtesy rendered toward the national office by the national committee and quorum, the party press, the national organizers and lecturers, and the comrades generally throughout the country.

To you, the delegates to the most representative Socialist convention that has ever met on this continent, I convey my congratulations upon the progress manifested by your presence here today. The further advancement of the Socialist cause in America is conditional upon the character of your deliberations and the actions arising from them. Beginning a new epoch in the movement's history, with the social forces that make for change working in complete harmony with the Socialist philosophy, with the opportunities for hastening the oncoming Social Revolution presenting themselves on every side, we should give to the task assigned us the best thought and devotion of which we are capable, deeming nothing less than that worthy of the cause having for its realization the emancipation of the working class of the world and the ultimate freedom and happiness of all mankind. Fraternally submitted,

WILLIAM MALLY,
National Secretary.
Chicago, Ill., May 1st, 1904.

Financial Statement of National Secretary

From Jan. 1st to April 30, 1904, inclusive:

RECEIPTS.

Balance on hand	
Jan. 1st.....	\$ 168.44
January	1,180.93
February	1,719.76
March	1,525.39
April	1,348.22

\$5,942.74

EXPENDITURES.

January \$1,264.45
 February 1,689.84
 March 1,564.36
 April 1,242.85
 May 1, 1904, balance on hand \$ 5,761.50

Assets, outstanding accounts. 750.05
 Total balance \$ 931.29

Liabilities 807.71

The liabilities do not include balances due organizers on April account, financial reports having not yet been received.

The balance of \$1,828.23 which was owing on Feb. 1, 1903, for old accounts assumed at the unity convention at Indianapolis, 1901, has been entirely paid off.

(Signed) WILLIAM MAILLY,
 National Secretary.

At the conclusion of the reading of the National Secretary's report and financial statement, Delegate Richardson assumed the chair, and recognized Delegate Berger (Wis.), who moved that the report of the National Secretary be received and referred to the proper committees.

The motion was seconded and carried unanimously and the report and financial statement were referred.

DEL. MEYER (Ill.): I desire to ask whether or not any letters have been received by the National Secretary, the contents of which should be submitted to this convention.

NAT. SECY. MAILLY: All the correspondence is filed away and ready to be submitted if the convention wants it. What correspondence do you refer to? We can bring our letter file up here if you want us to.

DEL. MEYER (Ill.): There are letters, as I understand it, that the National Secretary has received that are of special importance. For instance, letters received from a comrade from Kansas. I think that the Secretary will recognize the fact that there are letters and that they are quite important enough to be submitted to this convention tomorrow.

NAT. SECY. MAILLY: There are letters from Comrade Ricker and a great many other comrades, and I think it should be left to the convention to decide whether that correspondence is important enough to be seen. Haven't I got letters from all sections of the country?

THE CHAIRMAN: Comrades, it seems to me that this is rather out of order. Our business was to receive the report of the National Secretary. He has made his report and it has been disposed of. Now, the next order of business is the report of the local quorum, but before that report is presented I will request the Secretary to read the cablegram which is to be sent by this convention.

Secretary Dobbs then read the following cablegram, which was sent in reply to the message received from Germany:

"Executive Committee, Social Democracy of Germany, Berlin: Socialists of the United States of America return fraternal greetings of German comrades wishing them ever greater victories over the common enemy of the working class."

The reading of the cablegram evoked loud and prolonged applause.

THE CHAIRMAN: We will now proceed with the regular order of business, which is the report of the local quorum. Who is to make that report?

Is Comrade Work present? Comrade Work is senior member of the local quorum. If the local quorum is not ready to report, we will proceed at once with the other order of business.

DEL. REYNOLDS (Ind.): The local quorum is ready to make its report.

THE CHAIRMAN: Comrade Reynolds of Indiana will now present the report of the local quorum.

REPORT OF THE LOCAL QUORUM.

Delegate Reynolds read the following report:

To the National Convention of the Socialist Party:
 The local quorum of the National Committee of the Socialist Party of America reports that during the term of their service commencing with July 1903 they have met upon the call of the National Secretary in Omaha in July, 1903; November, 1903, and January, 1904; in Chicago in March, 1904, and at National headquarters on April 28, 1904. Each meeting was held publicly, open to Socialist comrades, and the questions submitted to, considered or passed upon by the quorum were recorded in the minutes of proceedings kept by the quorum and upon adjournment a full copy of such minutes was transmitted to the National Committee and published in full in

the Socialist press of the country, thus giving full publicity to the business entrusted to the local quorum of the national committee of the Socialist party.

Fraternally submitted,
 S. M. REYNOLDS,
 VICTOR L. BERGER,
 B. BERLYN.

DEL. NAGEL (Ky.): I move you that the report be accepted and filed.

Delegate Nagel's motion was seconded and the question being put, was carried unanimously.

THE CHAIRMAN: The next order of business is the report of the Committee on Platform. Is the Platform Committee ready to report?

Delegate M. W. Wilkins stated that the Platform Committee would meet again in the evening, and reported progress.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Platform Committee reports progress. The next order of business is the report of the Committee on Municipal Program. Is that committee ready to report?

A DELEGATE: They are in session

THE CHAIRMAN: That committee being in session they are, of course, unable to report at present. The next order of business is the report of the Committee on Resolutions. Is that committee ready to report?

DEL. SPARGO (N. Y.): We are ready to make a report, Comrade Chairman.

THE CHAIRMAN: We will hear from Comrade Spargo, and please let us have order. These resolutions, in fact, all parts of these reports, must be heard, or should be heard, by everybody.

DEL. CURTIS (N. Y.): I will suggest to the comrades that we cannot tell whether these resolutions are acceptable or not until we hear them read.

THE CHAIRMAN: It is suggested that the resolutions be read and any that may be in conflict or that are liable to be in conflict with other things that come up may be deferred.

DEL. CURTIS: It isn't whether they are acceptable or unacceptable; we don't know but what they may be acceptable and still be in conflict with the constitution.

THE CHAIRMAN: I would suggest that there is nothing before this convention except these rules. The gentleman is out of order unless he wants to make

a motion. At present there is nothing open for discussion.

DEL. SLOBODIN (N. Y.): I move you, Comrade Chairman, that we proceed with the regular order of business.

The motion was seconded.

THE CHAIRMAN: It has been moved and seconded that the Committee on Resolutions report such work as they have already done.

DEL. SLOBODIN: And that no action be taken upon the resolutions until they are printed and furnished to the members of this convention.

DEL. SMITH (Ill.): That is a motion that I think should be voted down almost unanimously. I don't know whether the committee has reported or will report all of the resolutions of every nature that are submitted to it, but if it makes such a report there will doubtless be resolutions that we do not want to have printed, and the printing of them would involve a great waste of our time and money, so I think we can safely hear them read first. We have no reason to be afraid of ourselves that we will not know what we want when we hear them, and I think that motion should be voted down.

DEL. BERGER (Wis.): I wish to state, Comrade Chairman and Comrades, that we can trust to the common sense of the committee to quash a resolution of that kind. Any resolution you would vote down would have no show in the committee. That is what we have the committee for, to consider before we do, what is worthy of our consideration, so I am in favor of the motion.

DEL. STEDMAN (Ill.): I think it is necessary that we should have these resolutions printed. This is too important a matter to consider without knowing fully what we are considering, and I think these reports should be printed, and I can see no objection to their being printed.

A delegate from Indiana moved the previous question, which motion was seconded. The question was then put, and the motion carried.

THE CHAIRMAN: We will now proceed to vote upon the question that these resolutions be read but not acted upon until after they are printed and copies furnished to this body.

DEL. BERGER: That was not the motion.

THE CHAIRMAN: What was the motion?

DEL. BERGER: Will Comrade Slobodin repeat his motion?

DEL. SLOBODIN: The motion is that the report of the Committee on Resolutions be not acted upon until a copy can be furnished to each delegate. The motion was then put and carried.

DEL. BICKETT (O.): I rise to a point of information. I desire to know if this committee has power or has been granted the power to quash resolutions that they do not favor, and not to bring them to the surface?

THE CHAIRMAN: I will say that no such power has been granted to a committee, and if anybody presents a resolution to that committee and they undertake to quash it, he can bring that resolution before this body in spite of them. (Applause.) We will now hear from Comrade Spargo, Chairman of the Committee on Resolutions.

Report of Committee on Resolutions

DEL. SPARGO (N. Y.): The Committee on Resolutions has prepared only a partial report. We thought it better to present a partial report rather than to incur the risk of any considerable delay this afternoon, and hence the committee will request permission to present the remainder of its report at a subsequent time.

Now the question which has been raised upon the floor this afternoon came naturally before the committee itself as to whether the committee should undertake to suppress resolutions, which, in its judgment, ought not to be considered by any serious-minded body. Such resolutions there might be, but your committee decided that it would not be to the best interests of the Socialist Party in this convention for any committee whatsoever to undertake to keep from the convention what any delegate wanted to bring before the convention. (Applause.) So we, therefore, decided that our business as a Committee on Resolutions, consisted primarily in this: We were to consider each resolution upon its merits. If they were not written in English we were to try and do that part of the work; if we thought that they did not properly come within the sphere or the jurisdiction of our committee, we would refer them to the committee to which they properly belonged, and that upon all such resolutions as

we decided to consider, we would report to the convention whether or not we, as a committee, favor such resolutions. In some cases we have had resolutions in which the writers have evidently said the very thing they wanted not to say, and have forgotten the very things they wanted to say, and by a species of clairvoyance the committee has undertaken to fill the void and to say for the framers of the resolutions what the framers of the resolutions started out to say and what they forgot to say. (Laughter and applause.) We have had resolutions consisting of "Whereas" and "Therefore be it resolved" without any resolution at the end, and we had to supply, of course, the resolution at the end. (Laughter and applause.)

A number of resolutions have been referred today to the Committee on Constitution. There was for instance a resolution from the state of New Jersey and from the state of Connecticut, providing that the cost of the national convention, so far as delegates' expenses go, should be made a national charge. We have a similar resolution from New Jersey, but we thought that since it involved in itself a change in the constitution, it would be idle for our committee to bother with it, would be idle for us to trouble the convention with the burden of rejecting it, and so we politely sent it over to the Committee on Constitution, and told them that we did not want that and they were very welcome to it. We have two resolutions from the delegation from the State of New Jersey. We thought that we could not present the resolutions as they were presented to us. If the New Jersey delegation had little regard for the committee the committee had some regard for the convention, so we have taken the trouble and liberty of trying to say what the delegates from New Jersey wanted to say, except that we have also suggested an important amendment to their resolution. They moved first:

"Whereas, It is the practice of some lecturers and organizers to engage with organizations of the Socialist party at an indefinite compensation dependent upon their success in collecting funds or selling literature, or else engaging without understanding as to compensations; and

"Whereas, Under such conditions the ability of a comrade to remain in the field depends upon circumstances

other than usefulness in the propagation of clean cut Socialism;

"Therefore, be it resolved, That this convention declares itself opposed to speculative methods of compensating lecturers and organizers, and in favor of the payment of a definite, pre-determined salary or fee."

Your committee reports favorably upon that resolution, and recommends it to the convention.

RESOLUTION NO. 2.

"Whereas, Exorbitant salaries or fees have sometimes been paid to speakers and organizers for their services; and

"Whereas, Such practices are altogether unwarranted and unjust in a proletarian movement; therefore, be it resolved, That this body declares itself opposed to paying speakers or other workers employed by the party exorbitant fees or salaries, placing them above the standard of the working class which the party represents; and

"We recommend that as far as possible the locals of the Socialist party should engage their speakers and organizers through the national or state organizations, thus discouraging abuses arising from the unsatisfactory methods at present pursued."

I ought to say that in presenting the resolution in this form, we do so after having amended the resolution in the committee, because in its original form the delegation from New Jersey proposed that the wages of our lecturers and other workers should be based upon the average rate of wages of the party membership. Now your committee thought that since we had not an option upon Mr. Carroll D. Wright, since, perhaps, we were not quite willing yet to expose to the world the average rate of wages of the membership of the Socialist party, it was better to amend the resolution in that direction. (Laughter and applause.)

We report favorably upon the resolution in its amended form.

Local San Francisco submitted the following resolution to the committee:—
DEL. BARNES (Pa.): Mr. Chairman, I rise to a point of information. Is this the report of the committee?
THE CHAIRMAN: This is the report of the committee so far as they have

completed it. We shall hear the resolutions and not pass upon them until they have been printed and copies handed to the delegates.

THE SECRETARY: There are not many of them; sit down. (Laughter.)

THE CHAIRMAN: Comrade Barnes was a little late to dinner, that is all. (Laughter.)

DEL. HAYES (O.): Comrade Chairman, I do not want to interrupt the proceedings of the convention, but I was not present when the motion was made that the resolutions be read and then printed and then be taken up and acted upon later. Was that the action taken?
THE CHAIRMAN: Yes, sir, that is the action of the convention.

DEL. HAYES: It seems to me, however, that that is a clear waste of time.
THE CHAIRMAN: The Comrade is out of order.

DEL. HAYES: I would like to see some one make a motion to reconsider and adopt some method to expedite business. If we continue in this manner we will never get through.

THE CHAIRMAN: The delegate is out of order.

DEL. BICKETT (O.): I move you, Comrade Chairman, that we consider the previous question.

DEL. HANFORD (N. Y.): We have already decided to hear the resolution.
THE CHAIRMAN: I will have to rule the motion out of order and Comrade Spargo will proceed with the reading of the report of the Committee on Resolutions.

DEL. SPARGO: This is the resolution which came to us from the delegation in California, or rather was sent direct to the National Secretary from Local San Francisco:

"Resolved by the Socialist Party of America, in convention assembled, that the Socialist Party condemns all propaganda organizations, not connected with the Socialist Party, doing Socialist propaganda, and that no member of the Socialist Party be a member of any organization not affiliated with the Socialist Party, if said organization is doing Socialist propaganda; and being a member of any organization as before mentioned is sufficient cause for expulsion from the Socialist Party."

Your committee reports unfavorably. (Loud applause.)

Resolution submitted by Delegate Hoehn, of St. Louis, Mo.:

THE RUSSO-JAPANESE WAR.

"Whereas, the conflicting commercial interests of the ruling classes in Russia and Japan have induced the governments of those countries to bring about war between the Russian and Japanese nations; and

"Whereas, the working people of Russia and Japan have no interest in waging this campaign of bloody warfare;

"Be it resolved, That this convention of the Socialist Party of America sends greetings of fraternity and solidarity to the working people of Russia and Japan, and condemns the Russo-Japanese war as a crime against progress and civilization; and be it further

"Resolved, That we appeal to the wage workers of Russia and Japan to join hands with the International Socialist movement in its struggle for world peace."

(Loud applause.)

Your committee reports favorably.

(Loud applause.)

Here is a resolution adopted by the State Central Committee of the Socialist Party of California. It deals with matters local to San Francisco, and came before us merely as a request that the statement be read before the convention on account of the information which it contained. It is not, in the ordinary sense of the word, a resolution presented to the deliberations of this body. It is a statement containing information which they desire read to the convention. In view of the fact that it has been decided to print these resolutions on behalf of the committee, I spare you the pain of listening to that statement. (Applause and laughter.) I thank you.

Selecting of Time for Nominations

DEL. SLOBODIN (N. Y.): I move you now, Comrade Chairman, that we proceed with our regular order of business, and that we do so by first reconsidering the order of business. The committees are not yet ready to make their reports and we are hurrying on towards the nomination of President and Vice-President. Now the delegates assembled here do not desire to have this important transaction of the convention

come up unexpectedly, while many of the delegates are absent, and, therefore, I move you that on reconsideration of the order of business, we defer the nominations for candidates for President and Vice-President, and that such nominations for candidates for President and Vice-President be set down for Thursday afternoon, and that the order of business be so reconsidered.

DEL. WHITE (Mass.): I desire to give notice of a motion to change rule 7 and 8 to read as follows, that we proceed with the nominating of President and Vice-President on Thursday, May 3, at 1 p. m. I desire to make the motion for the same reasons which Comrade Slobodin states.

DEL. SLOBODIN: The motion is to suspend the order of business at that point and take up the nominations of candidates for President and Vice-President on Thursday at 1:30 p. m.

THE CHAIRMAN: Let me suggest that you put the motion this way, that that be not taken up until the previous orders of business have been entirely disposed of.

DEL. SLOBODIN: It cannot be done, because we will probably have some resolutions referred to the Committees and they will have to consider them and refer those back, and that will go on to the end of the session. In the meantime, we can take up this matter.

THE CHAIRMAN: This is out of order. The gentleman has made a motion that the order of business on the nomination of President and Vice-President be deferred until—what time, please?

DEL. SLOBODIN: That the order of business in that respect be suspended and the nominations be taken up Thursday at 1:30 p. m.

The motion was seconded.

DEL. LEONARD (Minn.): The motion calls for an amendment of a rule which has been adopted, and we cannot amend rules unless proper notice has been given. A motion of that kind can be made at the next meeting, and consequently this motion at this time is out of order.

DEL. CAREY (Mass.): A Committee has just reported, and I don't know what action has been taken upon that report. (Cries of "Loud.") I have frequently said when I have started out reforming the world and speaking on a soap-box, that when Gabriel blows, the

harpest somebody will get up and yell "Loud," the same as those in the back part of the room. Now, I say the matter before the house is the report of the committee on Resolutions, and then let us deal with any changes in the rules. Let us proceed in order. Where is Robert? Rules on this subject?

THE CHAIRMAN: A point of order has been raised that has not been ruled on yet. Comrade Carey, you just came in, didn't you?

DEL. CAREY: No. Mr. Chairman, I know the convention will agree with this question of personal privilege. I did not just come in. I was in, but as a gentleman delegate, not wishing to offend the lady delegates, I was outside the hall, but in a place where I could make without violating the rules. But I listened.

THE CHAIRMAN: I will say that the Committee on Resolutions, Comrade Carey, has made its report and it has been disposed of. Now the point of order was raised that this motion could not be made without notice having been previously given that it would be made, and that this motion must be made at the next session. I rule that point of order well taken.

DEL. OUTRAM (Mass.): No action has been taken on the report of the Committee on Credentials, and I move that the report be accepted as progressive.

The motion was duly seconded.

DEL. MILLS (Kan.): Upon the matter of nominating these candidates, I understand the rule is now that we must either proceed under the regular order of business, or provide a time when we will do it.

DEL. WHITE: I presented notice of a desire to change the rules of order. I had a motive in doing it, and it was to prevent precipitate action in this convention. I want to say to all the members here that I am sufficiently trained in Socialist ethics that when this convention decides who its nominee shall be I shall support him, but I want the opportunity to be given to every delegate to be here at that all-important hour, and I offered that change in order that it could not be said when this convention had adjourned, that this convention had made nominations which were not satisfactory to the great majority of the delegates in this convention. Therefore,

I ask that that be changed in conformity to law. I was not present, and you have already decided upon the point of order as raised by a comrade from a Western state, but I believe that it is important that we should do something at this time to prevent an error that we could not recover from later.

DEL. SLOBODIN (N. Y.): I move that the rule of Roberts' referring to this point on this particular occasion be suspended by this convention.

The motion was seconded, and carried.

DEL. WALDHORST (Ala.): I make a motion that the nominations for President and Vice-President take place on Wednesday afternoon at 1:30.

The motion was seconded, and Delegate White (Mass.) moved to amend by making it 1:30 p. m. on Thursday, and the amendment was duly seconded.

DEL. WALDHORST: Several delegates were speaking about this matter yesterday and several of them signified their intention of leaving for home tonight. Some could not stay any longer, some of them would go tomorrow and a good many more will have to leave tomorrow night, so that if we postpone these nominations until Thursday afternoon, there will be a good many states not represented. What difference will it make whether we make these nominations tomorrow afternoon or Thursday afternoon? It would give a good many more delegates a chance to participate in the nominations who otherwise, from personal or business reasons, would be prevented from doing so. There are a good many of us who have simply a few days' time, maybe three or four days, to stay here, and it is necessary that we go home at the expiration of that time, but we would like to participate in that action of the convention. Now I hope the comrades will take that view of it and let us make these nominations tomorrow afternoon. I think it would be more satisfactory to many comrades than to postpone it another day.

DEL. BERLYN (Ill.): I see nothing to be gained by this discussion. The rules of order are that immediately after the adoption of the platform we nominate our candidate for President. To the old capitalistic parties, that is all-important, but with us it is an entirely secondary matter. I believe we can get through with the discussion on the plat-

form before tomorrow evening, and then it is simply a matter of who our banner bearers will be to carry that platform before the people. And why postpone it until Thursday? I hope there will be no change made in the rules of order on this subject.

DEL. PHELAN (Ill.): I would like to know if the comrade has any information as to the number of delegates who are going away tomorrow?

DEL. WALDHORST: I have heard of four from different states, and there will be still more, I suppose.

DEL. MEYER (Ill.): A question of information. We are not now working under a suspension of the rules?

THE CHAIRMAN: We are discussing now the matter of setting a certain hour for a certain kind of business.

DEL. MEYER: I rise to make a motion then that we now take up the report of the secretary of the International—

THE CHAIRMAN: The motion is entirely out of order.

DEL. BARNES (Pa.): Comrade Belyun asks what is the use of discussing this question, and then proceeds to discuss it. We have a motion for Wednesday at 1:30 and for Thursday at 1:30. I say there is no use of us discussing it, but I want to propose an amendment to the amendment and then we can take it up and come to a vote. My amendment will be that the matter be set for a special order at the Wednesday night session.

The motion to amend the amendment was duly seconded.

Delegate Bickett (Ohio) moved that the whole matter be laid on the table. Seconded.

THE CHAIRMAN: It has been moved and seconded that the whole matter be laid on the table. Those in favor will make it known by saying "Aye." Those contrary, "No." The "noes" seem to have it. The "noes" have it.

A division was called for.

DEL. CAREY: I desire to make this point. That is, from my standpoint, first of all we recognize as Socialists—

DEL. BERGER (Wis.): Point of order. A motion to table is not debatable.

THE CHAIRMAN: There is no motion before the house that is not debatable.

DEL. BERGER: There was a call for division.

THE CHAIRMAN: I did not hear any call for division.

DEL. SOUTHWORTH (Colo.): It did not come until after the announcement by the chair.

DEL. MEYER: I call the attention of the convention to this fact—

At this point there were a dozen delegates on their feet claiming recognition on points of order and points of information. A delegate finally succeeded in gaining the recognition of the Chair, and raised the point of order that Comrade Meyer had no right to speak on this point while the convention was engaged in taking a vote.

THE CHAIRMAN: The point of order is well taken. I did not hear the call for division. Those in favor of—

DEL. CAREY: I rise to a question of personal privilege.

THE CHAIRMAN: State the question.

DEL. CAREY: My question of personal privilege is this, that any member of this convention who has received and is granted the floor upon a question before this convention, is entitled to express his convictions upon that question—

DEL. MILLS (Kan.): A point of order, Mr. Chairman.

THE CHAIRMAN: State your point of order.

DEL. CAREY: I submit as a question of personal privilege that no man has a right to raise a point of order on a question of personal privilege.

THE CHAIRMAN: State your point of order.

DEL. MILLS: My point of order is that it is in the presence of a vote and call for a division, testified to by all the people here, and I want that division taken now. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: The point of order is well taken. Those in favor of placing the motion on the table will please rise. Those opposed to tabling that motion will stand. The motion to table is lost by a vote of 73 to 56.

DEL. CAREY: I rise to a question of personal privilege. Before I discuss any question, I rise to this question of personal privilege—that the chair had decided the vote carried.

DEL. SOUTHWORTH: That is right.

DEL. CAREY: And I rose to the floor and the chair recognized me upon the question before the house, and then I was interrupted by a delegate who rose to the point of order that that question that the chair had decided had not been settled, and the chair declared me out of order—which is absolutely in violation of Roberts'. (Laughter and applause.)

DEL. PARKS (Kan.): I rise to answer the question asked.

THE CHAIRMAN: Hold on, Comrade. The question was not asked—

DEL. PARKS: I understand that Roberts' is laid on the table. (Laughter.)

THE CHAIRMAN: I want to say to Comrade Carey and the Convention that I did not mean to wrong anybody. I was of the impression that the announcement of the vote was made before the division was called for, but I am informed by some of the comrades that it was not. However, it is all a mistake, and, Comrade Carey, we are perfectly willing to forgive you and all the rest.

DEL. CAREY: But, Mr. Chairman, I want to insist to this convention that if the Socialist movement of this world is to assume the parliamentary powers of this world, they must defend the rights of the delegates. (Applause.) And I have the floor. (Laughter and applause.) I had the floor in accordance with every principle of parliamentary law, not only Roberts', but Cushing and everybody else, and I was summarily throttled.

THE CHAIRMAN: We didn't mean

DEL. CAREY: I know you did not, but I refuse to allow my parliamentary rights to be strangled by some gentleman who may rise to a point of order and be recognized. I refuse it, not for my sake, because I can take care of myself, but for the sake of some of those who may not have as good a voice as I have got. That is why I defend the rights of the obscure men as I did in the case of Kerrigan. Now, then, Mr. Chairman, there is my position.

THE CHAIRMAN: Well, you have the floor.

DELEGATE CAREY: Very well.

Then I will keep it. I submit now, aside from parliamentary discussion— At this point the speaker was again interrupted by cries of "time" and "point of order," etc.

DEL. CAREY: The chair recognized me on the question of personal privilege. I got through with that and I got the floor again on the question before the house.

DEL. TART (Ill.): The point of order is that he rose to the question of privilege.

THE CHAIRMAN: He is speaking now on the question before the house.

DEL. CAREY: Mr. Chairman, I only want to call the attention of the convention—

A DELEGATE: A question of information. Hasn't that whole matter been tabled?

THE CHAIRMAN: No, sir, it has not. The motion was lost, Comrade Carey is in order and he has the floor.

DEL. MILLS: I have a question of personal privilege in connection with the same matter. Will I be heard now?

DEL. STEVERMAN (N. Y.): I rise to a point of order. My point of order is that Comrade Mills is clear out of the way in raising a question of personal privilege while another member has the floor.

DEL. MILLS: I desire to raise the question of personal privilege after he has finished.

DEL. CAREY: On the matter before the house I only desire to state this, I entirely agree with the delegate from Illinois that the important function of this convention is not to determine who shall be candidate for President, Vice-President or any other office. The important function of this convention is first to determine its attitude upon questions that we are concerned with, and then, after we have formed our position, to select those who, in our judgment, are best fitted to carry out that program, to carry that standard. And, therefore, I am for any motion that may be made for the purpose of postponing the nomination of President and Vice-President until our position on pressing matters has been formulated, because we do not want to have even the possibility, if it were possible to admit such a possibility—

ity, that there may be nominated upon our ticket a person not in accord with the expression of this convention. (Applause.) Therefore, I simply ask that the selection of our standard-bearers be postponed until we know what our standard-bearers stand for.

DEL. MILLS: A question of personal privilege. Now, I kept quiet while the comrade under personal privilege read us a lecture on the good behavior of men with good voices. I want simply to make this statement, that when the house was all calling for a division, and when the Chair had decided that the question had been settled before the call for a division was made, final announcement still being before the house, that the gentleman attempted to prevent a division by getting the floor and talking about something else.

DEL. SLOBODIN: A point of order, that the gentleman is not speaking to the question of personal privilege.

DEL. MILLS: I am speaking in defense of my action, which was attacked on this floor.

THE CHAIRMAN: Comrade Mills, I think this is unnecessary and out of order. I think we had better stop now. (Applause.)

DEL. MILLS: We got a division all right.

DEL. ROSE (Miss.): I rise to a question of information. If the Committee on Resolutions has not already reported in full, is it in order to submit something to their pleasure?

THE CHAIRMAN: Certainly, if you have any resolutions hand them to the committee at any time.

DEL. HAYES (Ohio): In the name of Flannigan of Texas, "What are we here for?" I call for the previous question.

The motion was seconded.

THE CHAIRMAN: The question now before the house is the question of postponing action on the nomination of President and Vice-President—first to Wednesday afternoon, second to Thursday afternoon, third to Wednesday evening.

DEL. MORGAN (Ill.): A point of order. The Chairman's statement is hardly correct. The motion is to substitute for the rules providing for the election of our President and Vice-Presi-

dent, to substitute for that another day and another hour.

THE CHAIRMAN: A specified hour.

DEL. MORGAN: Not to postpone, but to substitute.

THE CHAIRMAN: The motion is in effect to suspend the rules and make the nomination of President and Vice-President a special order of business for Wednesday afternoon at half-past 1. The first amendment is to strike out "Wednesday" and insert "Thursday." The second amendment is to strike out "Thursday" and insert "Wednesday evening session." Now, that is the way it stands. The previous question has been called and there is nothing else in order.

DEL. CAREY: A question of information. When different times are named is it not parliamentary practice to place the longest time first?

THE CHAIRMAN: Well, I put them in the order in which they were moved. There were cries of "question, question," from various delegates, and Delegate White of Massachusetts demanded the floor on a question of information.

DEL. WHITE: I rise to a point of information. I want to ask if what we are going to vote on now is the question: Shall the previous question be put?

THE CHAIRMAN: That is it exactly. In other words, that has already been carried.

DEL. WHITE: What has been carried?

THE CHAIRMAN: No, it hasn't. The question is—

DEL. PHELAN (Ill.): Didn't we vote here by a vote of 79 to 56 to lay this whole matter on the table? Wasn't that the question over which we had the last division?

THE CHAIRMAN: No, that was voted down.

Delegate Collins of Illinois requested that the present status of the question be stated by the Secretary.

ASSISTANT SECRETARY CROSS: Moved by Slobodin that the regular order of business be suspended and that President and Vice-President be nominated on Thursday afternoon at one p. m. Seconded. Point of order was raised by Leonard of Minnesota. Sup-

plained by the Chair. Slobodin moved that Roberts' Rules of Order be suspended on the point of order of business, and that was carried. Moved—I don't know by whom—to elect President and Vice-President on Wednesday afternoon at 1:30. That was the original motion. Moved to amend to change to Thursday afternoon at 1:30 p. m., which was seconded. Amended further to nominate candidates on Wednesday evening, which was likewise seconded. Then there was a motion made before the house to table the motion, and that was seconded, but the vote was in doubt and a squabble ensued, and the vote was that the entire motion should not be tabled. Consequently we are back to the original motion with its amendments, which is to select our President and Vice-President Wednesday afternoon, Thursday afternoon or Wednesday evening. (Cries of "Question, Question.")

THE CHAIRMAN: Comrades, the previous question has been called—

DEL. PARKS (Kan.): I rise to a point of order.

THE CHAIRMAN: What is your point of order?

DEL. PARKS: It is simply this: I understand that this was made one of the regular orders of business—

A DELEGATE: A point of order. This is altogether out of order.

THE CHAIRMAN: What is your point of order?

DEL. PARKS: If this house wishes I will state my point of order. This procedure that is going on at the present time is based upon a motion that Comrade Slobodin has made to suspend Roberts' (laughter). Now, gentlemen, my point of order is that this does not suspend the rules of this convention because the fixing of the order of business is no part of the manual of Roberts' Rules of Order. It was provided for in the order of business drawn up by the duly elected committee and ratified by this convention, and that is no part of Roberts' Rules of Order.

THE CHAIRMAN: Please let us have order. The question is, shall the motion question be now put? This is a question on the previous question. Those in favor will make it known by saying "aye." Contrary, "no." The "ayes" have it. Now, you have three or four

minutes on a side. (Cries of "Question, Question.")

DEL. CARR (Ill.): A question of information: Some of the delegates want to know if we vote down all of these motions before the house if we will not after all be under the rules of order adopted by this convention before they were suspended.

THE CHAIRMAN: Yes, sir.

DEL. CARR: Then we hope that that will be understood. If you vote everything down the rules of order as heretofore adopted will prevail. Let us do it.

DEL. MAILLY (Neb.): I want to ask the Chair, what is the next order of business on the rules? The next in regular order is the nomination of President, and if you don't suspend this order of business you have got to put in the afternoon nominating your candidates. The committees are not ready to report.

A DELEGATE: No, that is not right.

DEL. CARR: If we are to be under the rules—

DEL. SIEVERMAN (N. Y.): I raise the point of order that when the previous question has been called for absolutely nothing is in order but the vote.

THE CHAIRMAN: Oh, you don't mean the vote. You are out of order.

DEL. SIEVERMAN: I want a ruling on that.

THE CHAIRMAN: The convention has already determined that three men may speak on each side. (To Delegate Carr.) On which side is this comrade speaking?

DEL. CARR: He is asking for information.

THE CHAIRMAN: He should speak on one of the two sides.

DEL. CARR: I am still speaking on the question of information, so we may know where we are at. I am of the opinion that if all this is voted down the order of business will be the nomination of National Officers, after the report of the Committee on Platform, the report of the Committee on State and Municipal Program, and the report of the Committee on Resolutions have all been in and acted upon. And that will be about Friday or Saturday afternoon.

I am still in favor of voting all these motions down, so we may hear the reports of these committees and act upon them before we nominate our candidates. (Applause.) Now, if you will clear us up on this point, then we will vote all these things down and nominate our President and Vice-President after all these committees have made their reports and the reports have been acted upon. (Applause and cries of "Question, Question.")

THE CHAIRMAN: Now, gentlemen, now, just a moment. Let me explain—

A DELEGATE: I ask the floor to speak to this question.

THE CHAIRMAN: I will give you the floor in just a moment.

DEL. WHITE (Mass.): My rights as the mover of the motion—

THE CHAIRMAN: Hold on. I want the matter settled first. I want to say in answer to this inquiry that is made of me, we take up the first order of business this afternoon, for instance, the report of the National Secretary; then the report of the National Quorum; then comes the report on the platform. They were not ready and we had to pass on to the next order of business. The next order of business was the report of another committee, and they were not ready. We were compelled to pass to the next order of business. We have disposed of that—the resolutions committee. Now, we will have to go on to the next order of business, and that is the nomination of President and Vice-President. Now, that is in answer to the Comrade's question.

DEL. WHITE: As the mover of the motion—

DEL. TAFI: A parliamentary question: My question is, whether it will not be possible for this convention to suspend the rules and provide for other business.

THE CHAIRMAN: Certainly.

DEL. WHITE: I demand my rights as the mover of the motion.

THE CHAIRMAN: My dear sir, you will have your rights in a minute. DEL. FARRELL (Ohio): I am opposed to the motion—

A DELEGATE: A point of order: The previous question has been called for and nothing is in order but the vote, and I demand the vote.

DEL. BLOCK (Ill.): I will ask if the Committee on Constitution is not ready to report?

THE CHAIRMAN: I don't know.

DEL. BLOCK: Why don't you ask?

THE CHAIRMAN: (To Delegate Farrell): Go on, you have the floor.

DEL. FARRELL: As I understand the rules of this convention, when a question is up for disposal three delegates are entitled to speak on each side of the question before it is voted on, and I for one, wish to speak on this in accordance with the rules we have adopted. As a delegate who wishes to see every delegate in this convention thoroughly satisfied in regard to nominations for President and Vice-President, who shall bear the banner of the party in the next national campaign, I am in favor of not delaying the nominations, at least, not later than tomorrow night, Wednesday night—which is the amendment to the amendment before the house, and which will be voted on first. The question has been raised here whether it would be advisable to adopt the platform first. It is my opinion that whoever is chosen by this convention to act as a candidate for President or Vice-President of the Socialist Party of this country will be thoroughly satisfied with the platform that this convention may see fit to adopt. I believe that any man that may be elected in this way will have confidence that this convention will adopt a platform that will be in accordance with the Socialist program, and the Socialist Party in general; and that is the reason I would like to see this amendment carried the nominations be delayed not later than to-morrow night's session at the latest.

DEL. LUCAS (Minn.): I rise for information. I started from Minnesota some time ago expecting to attend a Socialist convention. I want information as to whether I have landed in Tammany Hall or a Republican convention. I want to know whether this is proper Socialist conduct on this floor. It appears to be more a struggle of the lions than an effort to do business. We came here not for the purpose of nominating a President and Vice-President, but as the one object of this convention, and we came here for the purpose of understanding what should be the purpose of the Socialist program, and I want to

know it. (Applause.) And I want to say right here that you can't drive me off the floor any more than you can Cary. I have got as much right as Cary, if Cary is a prominent man and delegate. You can expel me if you want to, but I am going to have my rights as well as the rest.

DEL. WHITE: I want to say, Comrade Chairman, that the inquiry of the Comrade from Illinois addressed to the Chairman of the Convention settles the question. The Chair has decided that the committees are not now ready to report then we must proceed to the nomination of our national standard-bearers. That being the case, the proposition which comes immediately before the consideration of the comrades here is, are you ready at this time to nominate the candidates? The Assistant Secretary, who made the motion for to-morrow night, in order that some delegates might have the opportunity before they left for their homes of voting for the Presidential and Vice-Presidential nomination, declared only yesterday in this convention that it was the duty of the convention to declare the platform of principles upon which the candidates were to stand, before they should be nominated. And certainly his position in making that amendment to the motion is not consistent to-day. If what he said yesterday was true it is also true to-day, and I believe that we will be conserving the energies of this organization if we defer this until Thursday afternoon, rather than to attempt to precipitate action in consequence of not having anything else to do on the matter of the order of rules. Therefore, I trust that the convention will vote to defer action upon the presidential nominee until Thursday afternoon at 1 o'clock.

DEL. WOODBEY (Cal.): I desire to speak against the motion to fix time. I may be under a wrong impression, but it occurs to me that under this order of business, the one following successfully after the other, that the contemplation and understanding of everyone in this convention is that we not only come to the report, but we actually get the report. Now we passed from one of these reports to the other and the gentlemen on these committees were not ready to report. That does not give us the report. The contemplation of the convention in adopting this order of business, as I understand it here, is

that these reports should actually be made. That would place the nominations after the reports were actually made—not after they were called for and not received. (Applause.) I believe if we wait for these reports to be made we will probably pass over Thursday evening, and perhaps Saturday evening, as far as that is concerned. I don't know how long it will be, and I am not contemplating how long it will be, but it seems to me there is no necessity for a change at all, and that these reports ought to all come in and that the last and most important thing—I don't know whether you consider it the most important or not, but I do. I consider it a very important question as to whom we place on our platform to run as our candidate. Some of you consider the other thing of more importance. That is a matter of opinion. But I believe if we wait until we get these reports we will have sufficient time without the necessity of setting any particular time. Another point I want to make while I am on floor, and that is this: The probability is if we go immediately into the nomination of candidates, after that is done we will lose a great many more delegates than we will if we hold the nominations until they are reached in their regular order. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: Comrades, we had better come to a vote on this. We are killing a whole lot of time. (To Delegate Slobodin). On which side do you desire to speak?

Delegate Slobodin of New York spoke in favor of setting a special time for the nomination of candidates, to be followed by the consideration of the reports of the committees as they were turned into the convention, stating that he could not see any reasonable ground for opposing such a procedure.

Among the delegates who attempted to secure recognition, the Chair recognized Delegate Autt of Idaho and asked him upon which side he desired to speak.

DEL. AUTT: I don't know whether I am opposing anything, but I am against fixing the time.

THE CHAIRMAN: Then you have the floor.

DEL. AUTT: Comrade Chairman, the idea strikes me like this, to begin with: Suppose we invited a gentleman here and asked him to sit down and pro-

vided no chair for him to sit on? That is just what you are doing here. You propose to nominate a candidate on a platform that does not exist. I believe with Comrade Woodbey here, that the proper procedure is to follow our order of business as provided heretofore. This order of business has not been carried out because our committees have not reported, and you propose to put the cart before the horse when you propose to nominate a candidate before we adopt the platform of the party. While I would be in favor, if it were possible, of nominating the candidates at once so that comrades who are obliged to leave early may have the opportunity of participating in that action, yet I do not believe it is correct. I do not believe it is legal according to the laws that we have adopted to govern the convention, because by so doing we are nominating our candidates before we hear the reports of the committees.

DEL. SOUTHWORTH (Colo.): I wish to offer a substitute motion—

THE CHAIRMAN: That is out of order, the previous question having been called for.

DEL. ROBINSON (Ky.): Before putting the vote, please explain the nature of the question.

THE CHAIRMAN: Yes. We vote first upon the amendment to the amendment, which is to the effect that to-morrow evening, the Wednesday session, be given to the nomination of candidates for President and Vice-President.

The motion was then put and division being called for, the Chair stated that the amendment to the amendment was defeated by a vote of 85 to 80, and thereupon put the vote upon the amendment fixing the time at Thursday afternoon at 1:30 o'clock. A division being called, the Chair stated:

"All those in favor of that amendment fixing the time at Thursday at 1:30 will please stand. Those opposed to Thursday at 1:30—that motion is lost. There is no question about the vote. It is not necessary to count. By 2 to 1, the motion is lost. There were only 64 for it, and there was nearly double against it."

DEL. SPARGO (N. Y.): We demand a recount of both votes on that motion, pro and con.

THE SECRETARY: There were 64

votes for Thursday afternoon, and as in the previous question there were 85 against and 81 for, there could be no doubt that the motion was lost. (Cries of "Oh, no, oh, no, count them, count them.")

THE CHAIRMAN: Now, here, comrades, just be quiet a moment—

DEL. TAFT (Ill.): A point of order; we have already taken the affirmative vote and it has been counted.

THE CHAIRMAN: It being questioned, we will take it again. Those in favor of Thursday afternoon at 1:30 o'clock will stand until counted. (64 votes were counted.) Now those opposed will stand. (90 votes were counted.) The motion is lost by a vote of 65 to 90. Now, comes the question Shall the nominations of President and Vice-President be made a special order of business for to-morrow, Wednesday at 1:30 o'clock? Those in favor may stand. Those opposed may stand. The motion is lost.

DEL. SOUTHWORTH (Col.) Comrades, our rule that we have adopted provides that the nominations for President and Vice-President shall come after the adoption of the platform. (Applause.) No comrade in this audience is wise enough to designate at this time at what hour that platform will be adopted. It is our business when we come to the special rule that we are now on to pass, it until former rules have been complied with (Applause), and to pass it without date.

THE CHAIRMAN: Do you make that as a motion?

DEL. SOUTHWORTH: I do, that we pass this rule without date, without fixing the time.

The motion was seconded.

DEL. MAILLY (Neb.): I understand that there are two committed now ready to report.

(Cries of "Good," and loud applause.)

The motion was seconded.

THE CHAIRMAN: I will state that the motion is superfluous. If the committees are ready to report I call for the report of the committee on platform (Applause.)

DEL. BERGER (Wis.): Comrade Chairman, in behalf of the Committee

on Platform I have to report that we are not ready to report.

THE CHAIRMAN: You are not ready to report. Then I will call for the report of the Committee on Municipal Program. Is the Committee on Municipal and State Program ready to report?

DEL. JONAS (N. Y.): No, but the Press Committee is ready.

DEL. MILLER (Col.): Comrade Chairman—

THE CHAIRMAN: Please do not interrupt me. I want to ask if the Committee on Municipal and State Program is ready to report?

DEL. JONAS: The Press Committee is ready to make its report.

THE CHAIRMAN: Now, I have called for the Platform Committee and the Municipal and State Program, both of which I was informed were ready. There seems to be no response from either.

DEL. MILLER (Col.): Comrade Chairman, the Committee on Trades Unions is ready to report through its chairman, Max Hayes. I move you that its report be received.

THE CHAIRMAN: It has been moved and seconded that the report of the Committee on Trades Unions be now received.

DEL. SLOBODIN (N. Y.): What does Roberts' Rules say about that?

THE CHAIRMAN: I am told that Roberts' Rules of Order says that the reading of the report is its reception. The comrade had better read Roberts' Rules of Order. (Laughter.)

The motion is that the report of the Committee on Trades Union be now received.

The motion was carried.

THE CHAIRMAN: Is the committee ready to report through Comrade Hayes of Ohio?

Delegate Hayes of Ohio then came to the platform.

THE CHAIRMAN: Before that committee renders its report, I have a telegram here which I desire to read. It is as follows:

"President of the National Socialists' Convention, Brand's Hall:
"Reno, Nevada, Socialist Local, sends greetings and favors Debs for President. A. A. HIRSHARD,
"Secretary."

(Loud applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: Comrade Hayes will now report for the Committee on Trades Unions.

Report of Committee on Trades Unions

DEL. HAYES: Mr. Chairman and Delegates: Your Committee on Trades Unions begs leave to submit the following report:

The Trade and Labor Union movement is the natural result of the capitalist system of production and necessary to resist the encroachments of capitalism. It is an effort to protect the class interests of labor under the capitalist system. However, this industrial struggle can only lessen the exploitation, but does not abolish it. The exploitation of labor will only cease when the working class take possession of the means of production and distribution, and establish their right to the full product of their labor. To fully carry out these measures the working class must consciously become the dominant political power. The organization of the workers will not be complete until they unite on the political as well as the industrial field on the lines of the class struggle.

The Trades Union struggle requires the political activity of the working class. The workers must assert and permanently secure by their political power what they have wrung from their exploiters in the economic struggle.

In accordance with decisions of the International Socialist Congresses in Brussels, Zurich and London, this convention reaffirms the declarations that the Trade and Labor Unions are a necessity in the struggle to aid in emancipating the working class, and we consider it the duty of all wage workers to affiliate with this movement.

Political differences of opinion do not and should not justify the division of the forces of labor in the industrial movement. The interests of the working class make it imperative that the labor organizations equip their members for the great work of the abolition of wage slavery by educating them in Socialist principles."

DEL. HAYES: I wish to add that the committee has adopted a supplementary report which reads as follows:

Resolved, That we declare our unalterable opposition to the introduction of the vicious 'open shop' system in governmental institutions, national, state or municipal, and in industrial establishments generally.

Resolved, That this convention warns the organized workers of this country to be on guard against the attacks upon their funds, individual and collective, for striking, boycotting, picketing, etc.

Resolved, That we declare in favor of a general eight-hour law, and point to the attitude of the old parties upon this question, in Congress, in Colorado, and various other states.

Resolved, That all the signs of the times indicate that the capitalist class of this country, through the medium of the Democratic and Republican parties, are seeking to destroy the labor movement by means of injunctions against the movement, and by legislation limiting the rights of organized labor.

Resolved, That this vicious work can only be prevented by united political action of labor on the lines of the class struggle.

Resolved, That we call upon the wage workers to join the Socialist party with a view to overthrowing the political condition that makes it possible for the capitalist class to use the political machinery of the country as a weapon against the working class. (Signed.)

MAX HAYES, Chairman,
DAN A. WHITE,
ADAM L. NAGEL,
JOHN COLLINS,
JACOB HUNGER,
JAMES F. CAREY,
G. A. HOERN,
FRANK A. SIEVERMAN,
Guy E. MILLER,
Secretary."

DEL. JONAS (N. Y.): Comrade Chairman, I move you that the report of the Trades Union Committee be sent to the printer before it is finally acted upon by this convention.

THE CHAIRMAN: Gentlemen, you have heard the motion. Is there any discussion?

DEL. SPENCE (Wis.): I move that the report proper be so received and printed, and that the supplementary report, which consists of these resolutions, be referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

THE CHAIRMAN: That is, you offer that as a substitute to the motion of Comrade Jonas?

DEL. SPENCE: Yes.

THE CHAIRMAN: Does that motion meet with a second?

The motion was not seconded.

DEL. WEBSTER (Ohio): The second part of the motion that the supplementary report be referred to the Committee on Resolutions, in my opinion, is out of order, as this Committee on Trades Unions was appointed especially for the Trades Union resolutions, and they are the ones to pass upon the matter.

THE CHAIRMAN: I would suggest that the motion to refer back that portion of the report has not yet been seconded.

DEL. MILLER (Col.): Comrade Chairman, it seems to me that it might be wise to refer the general program of the Trades Union Committee to the printer before we take action upon it, but in these specific cases, in which the committee thought best to make a declaration of our position, it seems to me that this convention is amply able to take care of these four specific propositions, and to have them read now, and so save time. There is going to be a great deal of oratory on this question, and we might just as well dispose of these matters while we have nothing else in particular to do. You certainly all know the position of the Socialist party upon the open shop as represented by President Roosevelt. You know what stand you ought to take on the eight hour proposition and on the injunction. We are able to express our opinion right now without any hesitancy whatever, and it seems to me that that is the course which this convention should pursue if it is to economize time. Therefore, I wish to move that the general program be referred to the printer as in the case of the previous committee, and that we now discuss serialism the four propositions submitted by the committee.

The motion was seconded.

DEL. JONAS (N. Y.): I move

Chairman, that we now adopt

THE CHAIRMAN: This last motion is out of order. There is already a motion before the house that must be heard of.

DEL. JONAS: Then I have an amendment.

THE CHAIRMAN: Well, it is not in the shape of an amendment. You offer it as a substitute it would be referred to the printer and the matter would be taken up serialism and acted upon by this convention.

DEL. JONAS: I wish to offer it

THE CHAIRMAN: Very well, but you are out of order when the Chair is going to state the present amendment before the house. The substitute has been offered that the first part of this motion be referred to the printer and the second part be taken up serialism and acted upon by this convention.

DEL. SPARGO (N. Y.): I rise to a point of order, Mr. Chairman.

THE CHAIRMAN: What is it?

DEL. SPARGO: My point of order is that the previous substitute to refer the latter part of the report to the Committee on Resolutions was not seconded, and second the motion as a substitute.

THE CHAIRMAN: I certainly received no second.

DEL. SPARGO: Well, a delegate rose and seconded the motion.

THE CHAIRMAN: I did not receive the second and I cannot sustain the motion.

DEL. DALTON (Ill.): I wish to move the motion that the proposition be referred to the table.

THE CHAIRMAN: Which proposition?

DEL. DALTON: The motion to refer to the printer.

THE CHAIRMAN: The whole

DEL. DALTON: Yes, I move to lay the whole thing on the table.

DEL. LEE (N. Y.): It seems to me that the two parts of the report of the Trades Union Committee should be considered separately. If I at all understood the purpose of the election of the Trades Union Committee it was

that that committee should take cognizance of the particular question of the attitude of this party towards the trades unions, or the relation of this party towards trades unions, and that is a question by itself; a question upon which there is a difference of opinion in this convention, and this convention represents the differences in opinion of the rank and file of the party. That is a question upon which there should be full and free discussion, and it should be discussed as a separate matter. It is a question of debating the outrages that have been committed by the capitalists upon the trades unionists and organized working people of this country. That is a question upon which we had better introduce resolutions to be followed. But, it is a separate matter entirely and should be so taken up. It was for this reason I should have seconded the motion of Comrade Spence if Delegate Benesi had not seconded it, and I might add that to my knowledge the Committee on Resolutions has already in its hands certain resolutions bearing upon this same question, this same matter, upon which we should have certain well worded resolutions to be published for propaganda purposes, of the outrages in Colorado and of many other outrages that have been committed. Now, it seems to me only reasonable that these resolutions, this latter part of the committee's report, should be referred to the Committee on Resolutions in order that the matter may be brought together into a single report, and in order that its style may be made as good as possible, to be used, as I say, for propaganda purposes. Now, since the Chair has ruled that the motion of Comrade Spence, the amendment or substitute, as the case may be, of Comrade Spence, was not seconded, I ask may I renew at this point the motion of Comrade Spence that this latter portion of the report of the Committee on Trades Unions be referred to the Committee on Resolutions: Will it be in order for me to put that motion before the house at this time?

THE CHAIRMAN: You cannot offer it as a motion, but you can as an amendment to the motion.

DEL. LEE: Then I offer that as an amendment to the motion.

DEL. CAREY (Mass.): Let me suggest to Comrade Lee that he ask for a

division of the question. This is a committee of which I am a member, and I suggest that he ask for a division of the question.

DEL. LEE: I recognize the wisdom of the suggestion and I ask that the question be divided.

DEL. HILLQUIST (N. Y.): I desire to say that while I have no objection to the division of the question, I certainly do object at this point to referring the first resolution reported to us to the printer. As we stand now, I understand we have absolutely no other business before us. If we send this one to the printer we will probably have nothing else to do for the rest of the day, whereas otherwise we might dispose of this resolution and then probably take up the report of the Committee on Constitution which is also not printed yet. Now I fully recognize the wisdom of having important resolutions printed and giving each member of the convention a copy of them before taking a final vote. Nevertheless I consider it of more importance to utilize every hour we have before us, after having practically frittered away three days already, and I would therefore oppose the motion to refer the resolution to the printer now, and hope the delegates will vote it down and take up the resolution now.

DEL. ZORN (Ohio): I want to speak in favor of the motion and I hope that the resolution will be given to the printer. I tell you, comrades, the organization we represent stands for something, it stand for Socialism, and this resolution is an important one and I feel that it should be printed and placed in the hands of each delegate before final action is taken. (Applause.)

DEL. BENESSI (Mich.): I second the motion of Comrade Spence for this reason: As Comrade Lee has stated, I also did not understand that the Committee on Trades Unions would bring in a report of that kind, and when they did I seconded the motion that it be printed for the purpose that it might go into the hands of the comrades, and that they could read it carefully and think it all over and then come to this convention and be able to state their views and positions more clearly on the subject than if we wrangled over it here.

DEL. ROSE (Miss.): Comrade Chairman and Delegates: I seconded

the motion of the comrade over the while ago. I am a trades unionist and also a Socialist, or rather, first am a Socialist, and, second, I am trades unionist. I want to stand by our party as far as it is possible to do it without conflicting with Socialist principles, and I would like to have chance to study those resolutions, don't want to vote against them and I don't want to vote for them until I understand them, and I believe it is the utmost importance that every one understands those questions before we act upon them.

DEL. HAYES (Ohio): Comrade Chairman, I want to say that the committee has consulted upon the propositions that are before the house relating to referring its report to the printer in view of the continuous and considerable delay that has taken place here for the days, we have no objection to referring this along with the balance of the business, so long as we get home some time between this and Labor Day. (Loud and loud applause.) The committee would very much have preferred to have had action upon this report, to have transacted some business here this afternoon, but apparently the delegates are not here for the purpose of transacting business, but merely for the purpose of raising points of order against the other. (Applause.) Rising for question of personal privilege, asking for foolish information, running out and coming and trying to vote upon questions that have already been decided, and a lot of other nonsensical things, including smoke nonsense. (Applause.) I want to say in closing that if you continue in this manner of doing business as you have been doing in the last three days you will not get through much before the Presidential election closes in November. (Prolonged laughter and applause.)

The previous question was called for and seconded, and, the question being put, the motion was carried.

THE CHAIRMAN: The substitute motion is this, if I have not forgotten it: That the first part of the report be referred to the printer and the second part, made up of those resolutions, taken up serially and discussed. Am I right on that? I believe that is a substitute motion. Now all those in favor of that motion will please "Aye."

DEL. SPARGO (N. Y.): I want to amend the substitute so that instead of the second part being taken up serially it be referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

A DELEGATE: That amendment has already been made.

THE CHAIRMAN: Oh, yes, amendment to the effect that the second part also referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

DEL. HOEHN (Mo.): Comrade Chairman—

THE CHAIRMAN: Now we cannot stop to debate at this time.

DEL. HOEHN: I should like to speak on this.

THE CHAIRMAN: You are too weak on this.

DEL. HOEHN: I do not like to raise points of order, but I will have to do so. My point of order is that the previous question had been ordered after the previous question had been ordered, and a portion of the question voted upon, you recognized a delegate to make another amendment.

THE CHAIRMAN: No, no, he called my attention to the fact that I was wrong and he was right. I had overruled the amendment he called my attention to.

DEL. HOEHN: How do we know he is right?

THE CHAIRMAN: Well, the gentleman is out of order. We are now voting upon the amendment and discussion is out of order.

A DELEGATE: I rise to a point of order. It would seem to me that it would facilitate the work of this convention if the secretary would read the motion.

THE CHAIRMAN: That is not a point of order.

DEL. HAYES (Ohio): Point of order, Mr. Chairman.

THE CHAIRMAN: What is your point of order?

DEL. HAYES: My point of order is that on a question or vote that is to be taken, as I understand it, the rules are adopted to give each side opportunity to debate.

THE CHAIRMAN: Now, Comrade HAYES, you were not in this room when the question was put. That privilege has declined and it is too late now.

DEL. HOEHN: I want to ask the Chairman, has anybody exhausted the eighteen minutes that is assigned delegates upon this question after the vote has been ordered upon the question?

THE CHAIRMAN: The gentleman is out of order.

DEL. HOEHN: I asked that question, has anybody exhausted that eighteen minutes?

THE CHAIRMAN: I answered it. I offered the privilege and called for the three-minute speeches, and no one responded and we went ahead, and now we are going ahead. (Applause and cries of "Go on.")

DEL. HOEHN: I appeal from the decision of the Chair.

THE CHAIRMAN: The gentleman is out of order.

DEL. HOEHN: I appeal from the decision of the chair.

THE CHAIRMAN: The decision of the Chair is appealed from. Comrade Dobbs will kindly take the chair.

Secretary Dobbs then took the chair.

CHAIRMAN DOBBS: Gentlemen, the decision of the chair has been appealed from.

DEL. HOEHN: My reasons for appealing from the Chair are briefly these—

DEL. MANCE (Ill.): Point of order. The question is not debatable.

CHAIRMAN DOBBS: The gentleman is out of order.

DEL. HOEHN: My reason for appealing from the decision of the Chair is because, under our rule there are eighteen minutes assigned to delegates in order to debate the question after the motion has been passed and a vote ordered upon the question. I had forgotten that a few moments ago and a delegate reminded me of it. Now I say that nobody up to date has taken advantage of these eighteen minutes allowed under our rules, and until this matter is disposed of it is within the province of any six delegates to avail themselves of that opportunity, and I say it was clearly intended under the rules to let those interested have their say without dicing them. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: I will state, as I have already stated, that after the motion for the previous question had been called for I distinctly said, "Is anybody

ready for the three-minute speeches? The time is here." I gave time enough for anybody to take the floor. Nobody did so. I then proceeded to take a vote on the last question, the proper one, and while proceeding to do so the gentleman claimed the floor and I ruled him out of order, and I still rule that he is out of order.

CHAIRMAN DOBBS: Comrades, you have heard the respective statements. Those who are in favor of sustaining the Chair will manifest it by saying Aye. The Ayes have it, and the Chair is sustained. (Loud Applause.) Delegate Richardson here resumed the chair.

DEL. CAREY (Mass.): As a member of the committee let me say that the Committee on Trades Unions are perfectly willing to have their report go to the hands of the printer.

The question was called for. THE CHAIRMAN: The amendment is to send the last part of the report, the resolutions, to the Committee on Resolutions.

The question was then put and the vive voce vote leaving the Chairman in doubt, a division was called for and a rising vote taken, with the following result: Ayes, 71; Noes, 55; and the amendment was declared carried.

EVENING SESSION

The Chairman called the convention to order at 7 o'clock, but owing to a misunderstanding as to the hour for assembling there were few delegates in the hall when the convention was called to order, and a recess was taken until 7:30 o'clock, at which time the convention was again called to order.

DEL. WEBSTER (O.): Since the close of the last meeting, I have estimated that there are probably 300 people here, delegates and people who are watching the convention, who came from outside the city, whose expenses cannot be less than a dollar and a half a day, and the loss of whose wages cannot be less than two dollars and a half a day, making for each four dollars a day. Multiply that by 300 and you have \$1,200 a day, or \$2 a minute, figuring ten hours a day. Of course to you trade unionists that work

THE CHAIRMAN: The motion amended, now is that the first part of the report be referred to the printer, and the second half to the Committee on Resolutions.

The question was then put to a voice vote, and a division called for. A rising vote was then taken and the motion carried as follows: Those in favor, 75; opposed, 48.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Committee on Trades Unions will present the printer with the first part of their report, and the Committee on Resolutions with the second part of their report, in accordance with this motion, or they will be hanged without the benefit of clergy. (Laughter.)

DEL. JONAS (N. Y.): I move we adjourn.

DEL. NAGEL (Ky.): I move we adjourn until seven thirty o'clock this evening.

The motion was seconded.

After several announcements, had been made by the Chairman as to the meetings to be held by the various committees, the question was then put on Delegate Nagel's motion, and the convention adjourned to reconvene at seven thirty p. m.

Therefore, it is out of order. We would have to suspend the rule before we could pass that motion.

The point of order was sustained by the Chair.

Delegate Robinson (Ky.) moved that the rules be suspended. Seconded.

THE CHAIRMAN: It is moved and seconded that the rule permitting three members to speak on a side three minutes each after the previous question has been carried, be suspended.

Delegate Parks moved to lay the motion on the table. Seconded, but lost. Delegate Stobodin moved the previous question. Seconded and carried.

The motion to suspend the rule was then put, and the Chair declared the rule not in doubt. A standing vote was taken, resulting in 70 for suspension, 26 against, and the rule was declared suspended.

DEL. SIEVERMAN (N. Y.): I move that in the rule the words "three on a side" be stricken out, and "one on a side" be inserted.

Motion seconded and carried.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Committee on Constitution is ready to report. What is your pleasure?

DEL. FARRELL (Ohio): I move that we proceed to the report of the committee.

Motion seconded and carried.

Report of Committee on Constitution.

DEL. HILLIQUIT, on behalf of the committee: Your committee is happy to announce that it finished its labors in one session, and it is further happy to announce that its report is ready for your consideration. If you wish to take it up we will have no trouble whatever in disposing of the entire matter in this session, so that when we adjourn we may have disposed of one at least of the important subjects before this convention. I will not make any speech or extend to you the general scheme of the constitution. We will take it up clause by clause, and if required I will give you such explanation as the committee deems necessary.

The constitution as submitted by the committee was then read.

THE CHAIRMAN: You have heard the report of the committee. What is your pleasure?

DEL. WEBSTER (Ohio): I move you that it be taken up section by section, and that those parts to which there is no objection be considered passed, and the other parts taken up and discussed.

Seconded.

DEL. STEDMAN (Ill.): I move as a substitute that the report be printed in the *Appeal*, and that the rule be suspended and the convention adjourn until to-morrow at 10 o'clock so that the various committees can complete their work. (Seconded) There is no use trying up the committees here to-night and then to-morrow lose three or four hours and have the committees unable to report until the day after. By adjourning now we can have their reports to-morrow instead of the day after.

DEL. HILLIQUIT: The copy is in the hands of the printer and will be ready to-morrow morning. I desire to state further that I personally hope we will commence to do some other business than adjourning. This is not a platform, nor is it even a resolution. It is not a question of program. It is not one document merely. It consists of several provisions. If any provision is read and is not clear to the delegates it may be repeated over and over until it is clear. In this way it will be as clear as if it was printed, and we might, to better purpose than adjourning, pass the evening in discussing this constitution, and perchance disposing of it, and do the business we are here for rather than to adjourn for the printing. (Applause.)

DEL. GAYLORD (Wis.): To adjourn at the right time is a really good thing to do and gains time. This constitution needs to be considered, not section by section, but as a whole, by men who can look at it all together. I would like to consider it that way, and I know others would. I do not want to hear it read indistinctly in this hall and then have to vote yes or no, because for the next four years we are going to be governed by this constitution or else be taking continual referendum votes. If we adjourn now it will save another day of expense and half a dozen referendums after awhile. It seems to me we want to give this proper consideration and be sure what we are doing. We would do better by doing this thing

properly. It is no disgrace to adjourn, and the boys are working hard and need the time to rest.

DEL. BANDLOW (Ohio): While we could get along for the next four years without any constitution, I claim that the reading or adopting of this constitution to-night will not interfere with the reports of the other committees. This will have to be read article by article, and adopted article by article, whether it is in print or in writing, and I am in favor of taking up the constitution to-night and doing what we can with it to-morrow. (Applause.) I move the previous question.

Motion ruled out of order.

DEL. MAILLY: I regret the tendency on the part of some of the delegates to minimize the importance of some of the real work of this convention. In my opinion we do not meet here only to nominate candidates. I believe that we have met here to formulate laws for the party, measures that will enable us so to conduct our business that we can make a successful campaign, not only this year, but always. If there are delegates on the floor who think that the only thing this convention was called for was to nominate candidates, they show, in my opinion, a great lack of comprehension of the real work of the convention. (Applause.) Now I have not seen the report. I have just had handed to me a copy of the report of the Constitution Committee. I have not had time to study it. I have only looked over it a little, and I disagree with a great part of it. Now, I want a chance to study it. When it is read, when it comes before this convention, I want to see what it is, before my eyes, because I know how important it is to the organization. For fifteen months the party, the national office, has been tied up through a deficient constitution, a constitution that was not worth the paper it was printed upon. (Applause.) We have been hampered by that constitution. We have been unable to carry on the work that we should have done. If we have made progress it was not because of the constitution, it was in spite of the constitution. We have had referendums of the National Committee and the party that would have been avoided if we had had a proper constitution, and I think the best thing this convention can do is

to adjourn and give the committees time to act. The members of some of the most important committees are compelled to be absent to act on these committees while the convention is in session, while important matters are coming up affecting the interests of the party and the work of the party, and it is not fair to the members of the committees. I am on the Platform Committee. We are going to meet soon. When the convention considers the constitution, I want an opportunity to discuss it, I want an opportunity to consider it, and I want to have the opportunity if I look after my work as a member of the committee, and I believe the most sensible thing for you to do—you will save time by it in the long run—is to give the committee time to shape their work properly. You had a committee that made a report this afternoon, and look at their work; it was imperfect because they had no time to do anything. They should have time to edit it and present a proper report. Instead of that you wasted all the afternoon on it. If you will give your committee time to do their work it will be presented in convenient form, and you will get through with your business much quicker. I believe the thing to do is to adjourn until to-morrow morning so that you can properly hear the reports of the committees.

DEL. TAFT (Ill.): That would be all right if we had unlimited time, but it seems that we have got to hurry some of the proceedings. I maintain that while this constitution is of great importance, because the main thing is to get the general plan and outline of the constitution, leaving certain portions open to modification or amendment by referendum, while other propositions are not subject to amendment. It is important that we should have ample time for discussion on the question of platform and the question of state and municipal program and the question of the trades unions and other resolutions that are to be brought up here; and therefore, believe that we ought to do the best we can, to make what progress we can, and leave other time to discuss other questions.

DEL. SIEVERMAN (N. Y.): I am in sympathy with anything that will save time, but we are not responsible for the arrangements by which we have lost time. I do not believe we are doing the

best we are here to represent justice by ignoring questions now for no other purpose than to save time. I want to get through with the work of this convention, but this is by no means the most important work; the program is by no means the most important work. I maintain that there are two fundamental things that come before this convention; one is the drafting of a platform, a declaration of principles, the basis upon which we stand; next, the constitution of our party, that is the fundamental business upon which the organization rests that gives expression to the platform and that is pledged to put it in operation. You can think of no two propositions that are going to come before this convention that take precedence over those two. You have had minor matters that had to be printed; you have or less nonsensical propositions to deal with, has had to have its matter printed; you have had the committee on trades unions here beseeching you to let this work off their hands and continue it, but you have had to have part of it work printed and the other part not to a wiser committee. Neither of these two propositions was approximately as important as the adoption of a constitution. (Applause.) I cannot sit here and vote intelligently upon a constitution without having the constitution before me, and I refuse to be led into a vote because we have been so short-sighted as to waste time on matters that we could easily have disposed of at the time they were brought before us. I insist that if there is any reason for printing anything, it is, first, the report of the committee on platform, and, second, the report of the committee on Constitution.

DEL. SPEARS (Ill.): Have we not forgotten that we have before us the supplemental report of the Committee on Trades Unions, and all we can do is to consider that?

DEL. BERYN (Ill.): That has been referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

DEL. TOOMEY (Conn.): There is the matter of the expenses of delegates. We have had a Committee on Resolutions, and those matters have been referred to the Committee on Constitution. I want to know from the Committee on Constitution what has been

done with those resolutions. I want to serve notice upon this convention that I shall move for an amendment to the constitution providing for the payment of expenses of delegates to this convention, in accordance with the instructions from my state.

A delegate moved the previous question. Seconded.

DEL. SIMONS (Ill.): The Press Committee stands ready to report now.

The previous question on the motion to suspend the rule regarding adjournment was put and lost.

DEL. BARNES (Pa.): There is a motion that the rules be suspended, and that is all the motion.

THE CHAIRMAN: The motion was to suspend the rules regarding adjournment or compelling adjournment at 9:30.

DEL. BARNES: A point of further information. What became of Comrade Stedman's motion?

THE CHAIRMAN: What motion?

DEL. STEDMAN: My motion to adjourn until to-morrow at 10 o'clock.

DEL. BARNES: That question has not been passed?

THE CHAIRMAN: No, the motion is out of order now.

A delegate moved that the convention hear the report of the Press Committee.

DEL. BARNES: We have assembled here and remained into the evening, and if it is possible to continue business I think we should remain in session and do such business as comes to hand. However, I want to say that I am in favor of laying over the report of the Constitution Committee and having it printed so that it is before all the delegates for intelligent action, and am not in favor of adjourning at this time. If it can be shown that there are other committees prepared to report we can consider their work and act upon it, and for that reason I am not in favor of adjourning to-night, but I am in favor of that part of Comrade Stedman's motion which provides for printing the constitution in the *Abbeal*, and that action be deferred until to-morrow morning. That is the motion as I understand it.

DEL. D. M. SMITH (Ill.): The motion is to suspend the rules, and that is under discussion.

DEL. PARKS (Kan.): I rise to make a motion—

THE CHAIRMAN: The motion to suspend the rules has been defeated.

DEL. BARNES: I submit that the division of a motion does not destroy part of the motion.

THE CHAIRMAN: There was no motion for division.

DEL. PARKS: I rise to a point of information. Is there any motion before the house?

THE CHAIRMAN: Nothing now.

DEL. PARKS: I move that we defer action on the constitution until the regular session to-morrow morning.

Seconded.

Delegate Phelan (Ill.) moved the previous question. Seconded.

ASSISTANT SECRETARY CROSS

(Wis.): There is a motion before the house on the minutes as follows: Moved that the report of the Committee on Constitution be taken up seriatim and that those sections not objected to be considered as passed. Then it was moved by Stedman (Ill.) to amend so that the rules be suspended and the house adjourn to meet at 10 a. m. and that the report of the committee be printed in the *Appeal*. That last motion was ruled out of order. We then voted against suspending the rules, which brings you back to the original motion, which is that the constitution be taken up seriatim, discussed and passed.

DEL. STEDMAN: A point of information. The vote that was taken was on the previous question and not upon the motion and I think the Chair is wrong.

ASSISTANT SECRETARY CROSS:

I think that is right.

DEL. HAYES (Ohio): If the question to adjourn is voted down, I want to make a motion that the report of the Committee on Constitution be sent to the printing office so that we can have something here in the morning.

Seconded.

DEL. BARNES: Will the Chair accept an amendment at this time?

THE CHAIRMAN: Certainly.

DEL. BARNES: I move you, therefore, that action on the constitution be deferred until to-morrow morning for the purpose of having the constitution printed.

Seconded.

Motion put and carried, on the previous question, and the main question to postponement was then carried. Delegate Taft (Ill.) moved to take up the report of the Press Committee Seconded and carried.

The Secretary announced that arrangements had been made to take a large photograph of the delegates immediately upon the adjournment of the Wednesday morning session.

Delegate Bandlow announced that an invitation had been extended by the Socialist Saengerbund to such delegates as were able to attend a social gathering arranged for Tuesday evening at the Revere House.

Report of Press Committee

DEL. SIMONS (Ill.): The Press Committee has the following resolution to report. The first resolution is one which has been presented by a number of locals and, therefore, we submit it to the convention. The particular resolution which we read is one which comes from Local San Francisco, and reads as follows:

"Resolved. That the members of Local San Francisco consider it would be for the best interests of the Socialist Movement of America to have a National Socialist Paper, either daily or weekly, or both, owned and controlled by the party, and Local San Francisco of the Socialist Party hereby instructs Comrade P. Deutscher and Comrade P. H. Keller, our duly elected delegates to the National Convention of the Socialist Party of America, to be held at Chicago, Illinois, May 1st, 1904, to submit to said convention a proposition to have a party paper or papers, as before mentioned, or if the same or a similar proposition is submitted by any other delegate to said convention we hereby instruct our delegates to said convention to vote for and support a motion declaring for a party-owned paper or papers."

Practically the same resolution was also received from Local Louisville, Ky.; Yonkers, N. Y.; Spokane, Wash., and the Woman's Branch of the Socialist party, Seattle, Wash. In spite of the fact that your committee reports unfavorably upon this resolution.

The following suggestions are submitted:

We recommend that any paper that assumes to speak for the Socialist party should be under the control of party members or the party organization.

We report further on another point which was suggested by the National Secretary: Recognizing the necessity of informing the party membership thoroughly of party affairs, we recommend in accordance with the suggestion of the National Secretary, a monthly bulletin confined exclusively to official matters, excluding all questions of political tactics and editorial opinions. We believe this bulletin should have a nominal price of 25 cents a year. If, however, the convention should decide that this bulletin should be supplied gratuitously, we recommend that such gratuitous circulation be confined to party secretaries.

Your committee further recommends for the consideration of the convention the proposition of establishing a bureau or electing a secretary of local quorum as the constitution provides, of course, under the control of the national office of the Socialist Party, for the purpose of furnishing plate matter on Socialism, such matter to be of an educational character, treating Socialism from a scientific and propaganda point of view, and not entering into questions of party tactics. Our reasons for this recommendation are that there are at present a large number of papers that are willing to publish Socialist matter, but are unable, because of lack of editorial or financial ability, or any plan, to secure the same. In many places Socialists are already considering the desirability of establishing weekly papers, but are handicapped by the same difficulty. This plan will assist in solving this problem in two ways:

either the matter can be purchased by the local comrades for existing papers, or when it is decided to establish a paper directly under Socialist control it will reduce the expense of publication.

DELEGATE SIMONS continued: I might just as well say a word in explanation, although it is not in order to do so, and, therefore, I shall not take up time in discussing it. Such a proposition as this is something that is certain-

ly going to come before us before long, and we feel that control which could be exercised in this way is the least undesirable of any possible control which should be exercised over the party press, because it contains no mandatory powers; it simply will dominate because we furnish better stuff. It will occupy only a small portion of any party paper and will leave this matter to every paper either to be used or not, as at present, and will help to get diversified ideas.

Delegate D. M. Smith (Ill.) moved that the convention concur in the suggestion of the committee in its report on the first resolution in reference to a party paper. Seconded.

Delegate Toole (Md.) moved to substitute the recommendation of Local San Francisco. Seconded.

DEL. SIMONS: I want to say, so that the comrades may understand what they are doing, that really one has no connection with the other. The motion which was recommended for adoption was not the one to establish a bureau. The one to adopt was that we recommend that any paper which assumes to speak for the Socialist Party should be under the control of the party members or party organization.

DEL. D. M. SMITH: That is not the one I referred to.

THE CHAIRMAN: I suggest that you withdraw the motion and take these up seriatim.

DEL. D. M. SMITH: That is what I move.

THE CHAIRMAN: Does the second consent to the withdrawal?

A DELEGATE: No.

THE CHAIRMAN: Very well, then.

DEL. PHELAN (Ill.): I make a point of order. Before we can consider the resolution or recommendation of the Press Committee the substitute should be voted on.

THE CHAIRMAN: There is a substitute to be voted on first, and that is the only thing in order. That is that we adopt the resolution of Local San Francisco. That is the effect of the substitute. That is open for discussion.

As to an Official Party Organ

Chairman Simons re-read the San Francisco resolution.

DEL. SIMONS: The committee recommends that this be not adopted.

DEL. ROSE (Miss.): I hope, Mr. Chairman, that before the delegates to this convention adopt the resolution from San Francisco they will consider these facts: If we have a party paper owned by the party, the only need of a faction of the party will be to capture that paper. (Applause.) And if it were possible for the old parties to get men into our party by any means or various means, who could after a while get control of that paper they would wreck our party as the Populist party was wrecked at St. Louis. (Applause.) I have been out of the Republican party for twenty years. I have seen a party-owned paper, and I have seen it drag the party that owned it down into the wreck from the simple fact that the Republican politicians came into our organization, and, fight as we might, we could not keep their influence out of it. They were fighting eternally until they got control of that party-owned press, and finally it went down and our party went down, and that was the finish of the party-owned press. I believe the safety of the Socialist Party today is in standing by the press as we now have it (applause), because if one paper gets out of line it cannot affect the Socialist Party, but if the party-owned press gets out of line that we all trust, we are all gone, and then we will become discouraged like these Populists that have gone to pieces, and the end of Socialism will be here. (Cries, "No, no.") I am in earnest on this point, and you may make to overlook the mistakes I may make sometimes. I am a newspaper publisher; I want to admit that I might, however, be selected to publish the national paper; I don't know.

DEL. DALTON (Ill.): Not after that.

DEL. ROSE: Not after that, no. But I am in favor of our press as it is at present established. When the Socialist Party comes into power it will own the press, and all other things as well. At the present time we have to labor under a capitalist system, and laboring to make haste slowly. We cannot control the party-owned paper very much better than we can control those little journals that have been established over the country, and you know how well they have succeeded. That is all I want to say.

DEL. TOOLE (Md.): I want to explain first why I made the motion to substitute the report. I would like to call your attention to a circumstance that one of the comrades from Illinois tried to bring up here this afternoon after the report of Secretary Mallory. He was asking about Breckon's letter to the national secretary, and there was one thing in that letter that struck me. I don't care anything about Breckon's trouble with the editor of the *Appeal to Reason*, but there was one thing that he said that I must take notice of, and that is this: That the editor of the *Appeal to Reason* has built up a mighty party machine with which he moulding the minds of the people in this country who are socialistically inclined, and I want to know whether we prefer to trust Wayland or some other newspaper publisher in preference to trusting a committee that we elect ourselves. (Applause.) Can we refuse to trust the National Committee that are about to elect, and then trust Wayland, who may die tomorrow, and then his son who is anti-Socialistic, and take that paper, which today is the foremost socialist paper in the country? That is a question.

Mr. Chairman, that I want discussed. I want to know whether these individual owners of these papers can be controlled. How can they control a man who it is said has threatened to dismantle, to break down the Socialist movement if it interferes with his manner of publishing a Socialist paper. Socialist papers are private property, and you cannot touch them. They can do what they please with them. I believe in the Socialist policy of public ownership—aye, even public ownership of the newspapers, at least one newspaper which shall dictate the policy of the party. (Applause.) Under the system of privately owned Socialist papers is every sort of idea has been preached Socialism. Any old thing is Socialism. What is Socialism? We must have the paper at least that represents the sentiments of the National Socialist Party. If there is opposition to it, I know there are the troubles that it will meet, but we will meet troubles in anything, but more the privately owned papers than in the paper belonging to the national party. But there has been trouble all along about so-called Socialist papers; papers

that have called everything Socialism, from the municipal ownership of street cars and the municipal ownership of railroads to any old thing. I have read accounts in the papers that said they were Socialist which even told us how we are going to live twenty or fifty years from now. They laid down rules for your grandchildren to live by, and called it Socialism. These questions must be considered. This really is the issue: Whether we can trust a millionaire owner of a party newspaper in preference to the National Committee elected by the membership of the party.

DEL. WALSH (Mont.): I believe that if the remarks the gentleman has just made were true, we newspaper men would swell up till we would burst. The public press is valuable only so far as it is true to Socialist principles. In the State of Montana we have won our strength against a multi-millionaire press. We have elected one ticket in Anconada County that represents the Socialist Party, and in order to give you a few more points on results from the Press Committee I suggest that Comrade Simons read two other resolutions there which show the inconsistencies of the resolutions that have been submitted.

DEL. NAGEL (Ky.): On the press question those of us who have been members of the Socialist party know the experience in the past. I want to find as soon as possible whether it is the sense of this convention that we have a party-owned paper. I, therefore, move the previous question.

DEL. WEBSTER (Ohio): I believe in common ownership, and I believe in the common ownership of the tools by which a paper can be published, just as well as I do in the common ownership of the machines whereby clothes can be made. (Applause.) Now it is not necessary that a party-owned paper be an editorial paper at all, in any sense that the writers on it have any authority to speak for the party. Let the papers simply be publicly owned by the party, and let it be a publisher only, and let the different comrades of the party write their opinions and sign them, and then we will have Comrade Simons' opinion in one column, Comrade Titus' in another, Comrade Hayes' in another, and so on. Now the only thing that will be official in that paper will be the ac-

tions of your different conventions. Those things which the convention says are Socialistic, those things will be authoritative in that paper, just the same as they are authoritative in a privately-owned paper. But the advantage of having a common owned paper managed in that way is the very fact that you will have capital enough to get a paper immediately with a circulation all over the United States, big enough to furnish a daily at once. I would be in favor of making the dues large enough on the membership in the organization to take that paper, so that when a man belonged to your branch the paper would be sent to him as a part of his belongings to the party. There is no manner of means by which a paper published in that way and the men who are chosen to publish that paper could dictate to the party membership. Each individual could write his opinions in that paper on any questions that are discussed. Some day, if Socialism ever comes in, we have got to have common owned papers. The public has got to own these things, because that is one of the very arguments that the capitalist class brings against Socialism, that when Socialism comes the fellows who publish your papers will dictate everything and decide just what is to be done, and consequently, you will have no progress until you will kick some clique out and it will be a case of one clique after another. Now, I maintain that it is just as easy to use the machinery owned in common, and published by the party and get the different opinions—just as easy as to have a little sheet here and a little sheet there and compel your membership to take six or eight or ten different sheets, with the editors of all of these different sheets on the ragged edge all the time as to whether they are going to have next week's meals or not, and the common jealousy of these editors as to whether the other fellow is growing any faster than he is. Of course, these gentlemen who are opposing this question are editors of papers. They admit it, and, of course, the man who has got some line of business is always opposed to having his business taken over. "Let the other fellows be taken first." (Laughter.) If we can demonstrate that the paper can be carried on without that paper being controlled by cliques, then we have solved the first and primary question of the Socialist ideal.

DEL. SIMONS: I am surprised at what has been said upon the floor of this convention, and I want just a few words to show you the ridiculousness of any such proposition. Where is this paper going to be located, to begin with? The comrade thinks this will settle the question of funds, and I know the great responsibility that will fall upon some of the members in the New York delegation when they realize how they are going to raise the money there. I have another proposition here, the proposition of management, that shows the fact that it won't work, and that ought to settle this question there. He says they may elect a member from every state in the Union as a managing board, and this managing board shall direct the editors. In the first place, the thing is so ridiculous that it seems almost impossible that any sane mind should ever have suggested it. A newspaper today, to be in any sense a metropolitan paper, requires not merely five or ten dollars or a thousand or ten thousand; it requires hundreds of thousands of dollars behind it. (Applause.) It requires, in addition, that it should be run in a competitive world, and yet we have comrades rising here and offering, as an argument for doing something in a capitalist state today, that we believe in public ownership of things, and, therefore, that we can introduce the co-operative commonwealth by means of party papers. I hope the convention will have the good sense not to discuss this question at any great length longer. It seems to me that we can spend our time better at something else. You cannot find good men that will do the work for what you will pay them on a party paper. He tells you that we are afraid you will take our jobs away from us. Have you ever been a Socialist editor? I can assure you that there is not a Socialist editor in this country who, if it were a mere question of his personal welfare, would not step out of the Socialist Party and into a capitalist party. (Applause.) Under these conditions I hope you will concur in the report of the committee.

DEL. LUCAS (Minn.): There was an old Quaker once who had a son. He told his son: "When you go out into the world you will find a great many men that are rascals, and they will beat you. When they beat you once they are knaves. If they beat you

twice, you are a fool." We have had experience with a party organ already, and I should think we should know what that was. (Applause.) If it had not been for a party organ in New York City we would have been a united party in the United States, with twice and thrice the membership we have got today. I believe we can control the party press a great deal better as it is now, because just in proportion—The gentleman, I see, wants to say something and I will give way in about a minute, but I have got the floor now, and I am going to keep it, for I want it. I want to say right here that Minnesota has kept still here and has not taken up much time, and we don't expect to, but we have got ten minutes now. You can question all you have a mind to but I am a Socialist and I am going to have my rights here. You can try to kick me all you have a mind to, but if you try to shut me off too much I will make somebody trouble. We have had experience in New York with this. We were growing faster than we are today. It was decided that the party must control the press. The party got control of it, and a few delegates got on the executive board. They worked their chances, and they started in on the party organ and wrecked the Socialist movement, or rather split it in two. We struck a rock, but we have got off, and now the ship is sailing along prosperously, and we are not going to let the men beat us a second time. (Applause.) The gentleman over there spoke to me about the editors of the *Appeal to Reason*. When the *Appeal to Reason* ceases to appeal to the common sense of the Socialist party, it will not be an appeal to reason, but it will be wrecked on the rock of perdition. (Applause.) No single paper in the hands of any individual or party of individuals can wreck us because the class-conscious Socialists reading this paper can see its tendencies, and it can no longer control them, and when it can no longer control the Socialists it is worthless to the capitalists. We are not afraid of this. Let our papers be just as they are now. Let each one criticize the action of the other, and let them be in a shape so that every class-conscious Socialist can act as he pleases, and that paper will have principles as clear as crystal. Something has been said here about the dangers of a party-owned press

When Socialism comes no press can hurt us, because we will have only one press representing a united mankind. The danger is today, and as long as there are enemies around us let the people print the papers, and we as Socialists can decide on their merits. (Applause.)

Delegate McKee (Cal.) moved the previous question. Seconded.

DEL. DALTON (Ill.): I was on the floor when the previous question was moved, and I think I have got a right to speak on that question.

THE CHAIRMAN: Comrade McKee was recognized and moved the previous question before the comrade spoke.

DEL. DALTON: There has been nobody got a chance to talk on that side. A DELEGATE: The previous question has been moved.

THE CHAIRMAN: I have not heard a second.

A delegate seconded the motion.

DEL. DEUTZMAN (Cal.): It was not the intention that if we had a party-owned paper it would talk party tactics or declare to the party. It was the intention to furnish to the people of this country Socialist literature and Socialist articles, but after the suggestion of Comrade Simons that there would be a human established to sell to the party press of the country such written articles by the foremost writers on Socialism, I withdraw that resolution presented here to this body to get at the opinions of the comrades that sent it here, to see what we could do or what would be the best to do. Local San Francisco offered that measure in the hope that there would be a party press established, and directed us to support such a suggestion from other locals. It was only to bring up a discussion of this matter, because we have a large minority that believes in a party-owned press. We have told them, from what we have heard on this floor, that it would be impossible to own a party press. I told them it would be just as dangerous to have a commonly owned party press as a privately owned press. But I am still in favor of having something done so that we can furnish to the small backwoods towns such articles on Socialism. If you could see the

papers out in the West that are claiming to be Socialist papers, but are the laughing stock of real Socialists, I think you comrades would all see that we need something of the sort that Comrade Simons proposes. Therefore, I will withdraw this resolution as a representative of Local San Francisco, but I will support and vote for the suggestion of Comrade Simons. (Applause.) DEL. LUND (Wash.): This resolution originated in Local Spokane, where I am from, and I was directed when I left home that when the resolutions came up here I should work for it and do what I could. I know that there are a good many little newspapers in my region and a good many little editors (laughter), and if we had a party-owned paper, there might be some of the little editors that would have nothing to do any more. Probably there are yet some capitalistic ideas in them that they don't like to come out with, but they are coming out with them now and here and showing it plainly. I don't like to see the action of those editors, because they know as well as I that if we had a party-owned paper that was controlled by some kind of a board of Socialists—not milk and water Socialists, we have too many today that control the papers, but straight Socialists—we would have papers with a ring that you could hear it when you would see it, and see it when you hear it. Those are the ones that we should have on the papers, and we could get something to read that would teach the rank and file how to move the Socialist movement. I for one am satisfied that these are the views of the people that I am with or where I come from, the Socialists of Spokane, Washington. We have it back there, and for the last year we have looked at those papers till we got tired of looking at them, because mostly there is nothing but one fighting another because each one is afraid the other paper gets more subscriptions than he does. And when it comes to the financial proposition, where is the editor that can run his paper without the rank and file? Not one in America. And, therefore, if we had a party-owned paper that would be straight and to the point there would not be so many young Socialists going astray as we find there have been so far, because they get a paper and say, "There is fighting every day and every week, and when I see the

paper there is nothing but a fight." If we had a party-owned paper this fighting would certainly all be done away with and there would be something to read there that would be worth reading. I, of course, cannot outline like those attorneys and newspaper editors can in this regard, so, of course, you must excuse me and take for what it is worth what I am saying, but I shall do all I can and ask this convention to consider very thoroughly whether it would not be better to have a party-owned paper than to have a thousand or two thousand of those little ones that live today and we don't know whether they will die tomorrow. I am satisfied that even if a board was elected or appointed in some shape to run these that they could make capitalist papers out of these papers on the business side and give the reading to the Socialists. You would get a daily paper big enough or as big as some of those dailies, and you would have advertising enough if the paper was big enough, almost to pay for half of it. But there is no Socialist in the rank and file of the United States that would not put up a dollar any time to have a first-class daily paper started and distributed throughout the country.

DEL. IRENE SMITH (Ore.): Oregon has had but very little to say up to the present time, and I would like to speak for a moment or two on this question. I have found in my work as a lecturer in the Socialist field that one of the great lacks of the movement is a party paper, that can be pointed to as an authority on scientific Socialistic teaching. One of the main things that has been thrown in my face repeatedly by those capitalists that I have held debates with, is this: "You don't agree within yourselves. Even your papers are continually differing with one another. Your papers are not united in teaching Socialism. Your speakers differ in teaching Socialism. Whom are we to believe?" (Applause.) I recognize, as Comrade Simons says, that it is something of an undertaking to start a Socialist paper, or any other kind of a paper. Although I am not a newspaper woman and do not understand that as well as they do, I can comprehend that it would be something of a task. Now I have this to offer, as a suggestion to the convention: Now you will probably laugh, for you will say, "Which one can we select?" But,

wouldn't it be well to pick out some of these papers, for instance, the *International Review*, and have that as our standard paper? (Laughter and applause.) A comrade has handed me one already to recommend, but I am not here to recommend any paper, but merely giving a suggestion as to the need of one. At the recent state convention held in Oregon in March, the question was brought up and was discussed at length, and the comrades then from different parts of the state recognized the lack of a national paper that would express the true ideals of Socialism. They have one little sheet in Oregon, a very distorted affair, and the sheet is doing more to teach the wrong kind of Socialism than half the speakers can do to unteach it. (Applause.) I tell you, comrades, one of the hardest things to do in this world is to grow a thing wrong after it has been taught to grow right. Now, don't forget the fact, and if today we had one paper in the United States that we could point to as the Socialist organ, that could depend upon for its straight Socialism, the other papers would have to live up to its philosophy or else get out of the field. (Applause.) Therefore, stand for the establishment of a Socialist paper owned and controlled, if possible, by the party; if not possible, then stand for the choosing of one of the papers that are already in the field and making it the national paper. (Applause.)

DEL. BERGER (Wis.): Would you call the editor of that paper the party pope or party oracle?

SEVERAL DELEGATES: The pope.

DEL. IRENE SMITH: I consider the question as too nonsensical to answer. (Laughter and applause.)

DEL. MILLER (Colo.): Comrade I do not think that the truth appeals to the human mind any more strongly because it has the stamp of authority upon it. I do not know that error is less erroneous because at the time that that error was inculcated the stamp of authority was placed upon it. ("Hear, hear.") I do not know the means by which we should be absolutely certain that a party-owned paper should always square up to the very highest standard of merit. The privately-owned paper

today, if they exercise any influence whatever upon the public mind, it is because of merit. We shall not make a question easier of decision because we place upon it the stamp of merit or the stamp of authority. It seems to me that that fact is clear enough. In some way when a man gets the Socialist idea into his head he has a sort of magic touchstone by which he can determine the difference between truth and error, and it is only necessary for him to apply that in order to determine whether a paper can or cannot be relied upon. The capital of the privately-owned papers of this country today has never appealed to the reason of the Socialist people of this country, and that alone gives them their power. The consciousness of every Socialist in this country is awakened, and they bring the writings of every writer up to their ideals of Socialism and see whether or not they live up to the standard of merit. Shall we substitute for that alert faculty which has guided the Socialist party through so many battles in the past—shall we substitute for that an executive board of the Socialist party of this country? I am not ready to so substitute it: I believe the popular approval, wrong as it often is, is the safest guide, and it is only because I believe in the popular intelligence, in their anxiety to do right, that I have the surest confidence when the intelligence of the people shall finally be roused up to the philosophy of Socialism. It is because of that I realize it is inevitable.

It may be unfortunate that in various sections of the country the little local press is inefficient, but I want to tell you that when the history of the Socialist movement is finally written there will be a great big place in it for the men of the local press, who, through avocation and hardship, have upheld the banner and done the work of enlightening the people. (Applause.) And I want to say further that the men who impregnate the motives of the Socialist editors upon this floor, whose experience leads them to oppose the idea of a party owned and directed paper, have not fully lived up to the principles of comradeship which our party teaches. (Applause.) We ought to be fairer and more just and generous than that. And I just want to say to the people here who don't know me, that I am not an editor, I am not speaking for any paper

from this platform. It is simply my position as a Socialist and my observation of the way things go in this world of ours. If we could have people made over again and always right up to the highest standard of truth and right, we might be able to throw all of our funds into a common treasury and turn the management of the paper over to someone and let it go at that, and be certain that everything was all right. (Here the gavel fell.)

THE CHAIRMAN: I suggest that though the mover of this had offered to withdraw it, the second has not said a word.

DEL. TOOLE: I am the mover of that motion. I offer to withdraw it.

THE CHAIRMAN: I mean the member that introduced it.

DEL. HOEHN (Mo.): I withdraw it.

DEL. DALTON (Ill.): Illinois in this convention has been trying to get recognition for an hour and a half.

THE CHAIRMAN: That is all right; you will.

DEL. HOEHN: I rise to move the previous question. Motion seconded.

DEL. SPARGO: I claim three minutes.

THE CHAIRMAN: The previous question has been called for. Shall the main question be now put?

Motion put and carried.

DEL. SPARGO: I claim three minutes.

THE CHAIRMAN: We will give the mover of the motion three minutes, and then Delegate Spargo may have the next.

DEL. D. M. SMITH (Ill.): I claim three minutes as the mover of the original motion.

THE CHAIRMAN: It is only the mover—

DEL. TOOLE: A point of order. I am the mover of the substitute, and that is what we are discussing. He has been asleep since the morning session.

THE CHAIRMAN: I will ask the Secretary to inform us who introduced the substitute.

THE SECRETARY: The Secretary is unable to tell who the biggest part of the people here in the convention are, because they have covered their signs

up with other things. Furthermore, when they get up to speak they forget to announce who they are, thinking that we all know them. We know one or two, but not all the 185 here. Consequently the Secretary has been unable to find out who has been introducing these resolutions tonight.

DEL. D. M. SMITH: I moved the question and Comrade Toole moved the substitute.

THE CHAIRMAN: Then he is the next.

DEL. TOOLE (Md.): In conclusion I will say that I think we are running away from a great big bugaboo and that we are afraid of ourselves. When the last comrade was speaking—the comrade from Colorado, I think—I thought I saw over there Bishop Matz making an argument against Socialism, that if people could be moulded over again it would be all right; that we could have Socialism if people could be moulded all over again. So we could have this newspaper if we were all moulded over again and all good. But we cannot. I tell you there is back of it all the same capitalistic spirit; we cannot get away from it; it is the competitive spirit that is in them. I am not blaming those comrades. I am not throwing out any insinuations; but I want to say this, that we are simply saying that we must be afraid of ourselves. I say this: We do not want to have anything to do with a privately owned newspaper. We want to have a common newspaper.

It would give solidity to the movement. It would teach the principles that are adopted by this convention. We object to the competition in the market of the privately-owned papers. Another thing, from the standpoint of capital, the party could get all of the capital to run the newspaper the same as these privately-owned newspapers. They talk about the millionaire newspapers as though there were none. I know that what has been said is true, that there is a paper that is rapidly becoming a great paper; I mean the *Appeal to Reason*. Times have changed since two years ago when we had trouble with the *Social Democratic Herald*. Times have changed, and the movement has changed. Right here we see a paper with a circulation rapidly increasing on every hand. People take it and have it upon their tables and be-

lieve in it almost as Christian people believe in their Bible. I say this with all due respect to the man that is editing it, but I say that that man has an awful power. He controls the Socialist movement of this country and in this convention. That is what I say.

DELEGATES: Oh, no.

DEL. TOOLE: Yes, I say it.

DEL. SPARGO (N. Y.): I am very sorry that I did not succeed in getting the floor before the main question was submitted to the house, but in the minute or two that remains to me I want to enter a protest against the spirit which dominated the speech of almost every speaker in favor of the establishment of a national party-owned paper. I fling back to those comrades as unworthy of reply the charge that we are called upon to edit Socialist papers are looking after our jobs and not the interests of the party.

A delegate rose to a point of order.

DEL. SPARGO: I refuse to be hounded down by delegates to whom I listened while I myself was filled with indignation and scorn. There is no question of personal privilege while I have got these three minutes. If the delegate wants to rise to a point of order he may, but not to a question of personal privilege in order that he may interrupt me.

DEL. WEBSTER (Ohio): Comrade Chairman, I rise to a point of order.

DELEGATES: Sit down!

DEL. SPARGO: It has been said that the Socialist editors are opposed to a party paper because they have some vested interest which is threatened. I reply in the name of the Socialist editors—I reply not as a Socialist editor—I reply in the name of unworthy of this convention that that is unworthy of this convention that hereafter every woman in the party should have her hair cut short, and the barbers opposed it, is it to be said that the barbers are in line against the proposition because they happen to have a five or ten cent interest jeopardized? Comrades, this convention demands higher motives than the impeachment of other comrades' motives. I am opposed to a national party-owned organ because I am opposed to the heresy hunter all the time. (Applause.) I am opposed to a national

party-owned organ because I will not trust the party integrity. I will not trust the party interests, I will not trust the party faith to the judgment of any one, no matter how great he may be. (Applause.) If Editor Wayland, of the *Appeal to Reason*, makes a mistake, the Socialist Party stands firm, but if some one who is declared to be for the time being the infallible literary pope of the movement makes a mistake, that mistake carries with it the Socialist Party. (Applause.) Comrades, there can be no orthodox Socialism while there is property in a nationally owned party organ.

DEL. WEBSTER: A question of personal privilege. It is that the question raised by comrades here who used an argument made by myself that these men were personally interested, was a question of personal insult. I maintain that there is no question of insult in regard to these gentlemen, but the very Socialist argument that a man who has a certain line of business cannot see his own relation to it and is warped by his personal interest. (Cries of "No.") Several delegates called for recognition.

DEL. NAGEL (Ky.): There is no question of personal privilege on this question. The time has come to vote.

DEL. WEBSTER: It is a question of personal privilege.

DEL. TOOLE: I have no interest in any editors, and I desire it to be known that I have not.

A DELEGATE: A point of order. It is half past nine, the hour for adjournment.

THE CHAIRMAN: What do you say?

A delegate moved to suspend the rules in regard to adjournment. Seconded and carried.

DEL. DALTON (Ill.): Comrade Chairman and Comrades, it appears to me that this is a matter over which there is no need of getting excited. In the first place, we are not going to have any nationally-owned organ.

A DELEGATE: How do you know?

DEL. DALTON: I will tell you why. The Socialist movement, like a child, has had some experience in the course of its growth. Its face is not turned backward. It has learned, not because we stand for public ownership

that necessarily we can smuggle in the co-operative commonwealth behind the backs of the present society; we have learned that we cannot do that. Moreover, in the special subject under discussion we have learned that it is a danger to the growth of the Socialist movement to introduce interests of private property into an organization that stands for the overthrow of private property. (Applause.) Some one has said there is danger on account of the private ownership of the press. There is; there is danger; but there is more danger on the other side. The Socialist movement will have to face danger day after day. The question to decide is whether we shall become bourgeois or remain Socialists. You cannot own property without having your interests center around it. You cannot have a system and at the same time carry on the work of overthrowing it. In a country like the United States you cannot carry on the work of revolution with an organization that itself is a property owner. That lies at the bottom of it, not a question of the private property interests of the editors, who, today, if they get their little twelve or thirteen dollars a week, think they are remarkably lucky. They are afraid they would lose their jobs, somebody said, if there is a nationally-owned organ. Most of them would be glad to trade their jobs off to the gentlemen who are kicking about them right now. (Applause.) We have today—(Here the gavel fell.)

DEL. D. M. SMITH (Ill.): I happen to be one of those editors, and I believe I have made as many sacrifices for the interest and promotion of the principles of Socialism as any man who has been in attendance daily in this convention, and I want to say to you that while we make mistakes and while we know we have made mistakes, yet as great mistakes as I have ever seen emanated from men sent out from the headquarters as Socialist organizers. I want to say that in the state organizations I have seen as bad mistakes, as miserable ones, as any little newspaper man ever made. Now, it is useless for us to contend about these things. The little fellow has his place in the machine that we are running now. He must have it until you change this miserable system, because of the fact that he is one of the cogs, and the machine won't run without him; you can't dispense with

him. I want to say to the gentlemen who are favorable to a national or party owned press that I have no objection whatever to the establishment of one if the party in its eminent wisdom deemed fit to establish one. But I want to say to you that when you have done it, until the present system is abolished, you will always regret it. I see in the constitution as you have already had it here, that you have taken from the people the right to elect the secretary, and placed it in the hands of the National Committee, and who have opposed that except the little fellows that you have got around the country running the Socialist press today? I want to ask you, if that was conducted in that way, who would tell the common people, who have not the time to look into these matters, the fact that you have introduced into that a proposition to elect the secretary of this great party by commitment who are selected from the different states? No, that is in your constitution as it is written now, and I want to tell you that every little fellow in all this country who runs a newspaper will get up and fight it. We want to keep this thing distributed among the people and down to the people, and we don't intend you fellows to get away with it. I have seen in this very convention a caucus somewhat as I have seen the old party conventions, and I have seen different committees marked out on paper for you fellows to vote for, and you did it, and every man marked on that paper was elected on the committee. There is not one of them but what I would have voted for, possibly, under any other circumstances.

DEL. MAHONEY (Conn.): I rise to take exception to the comrade's remarks over here that Socialists are against the ownership of private property.

THE CHAIRMAN: The question is, shall the San Francisco resolution be adopted?

DEL. DEUTZMAN (Cal.): That is not the San Francisco, but another.

THE CHAIRMAN: Well, it is about the San Francisco resolution. The resolution is presented by the committee and denominated the resolution from San Francisco. That is the question before you. Shall that be adopted?

DEL. PARKS (Kan.): I move to lay it on the table.

THE CHAIRMAN: Those in favor of the adoption of that resolution will stand.

DEL. DALTON (Ill.): Is this simply in reference to establishing a public press, or does it involve more? I suggest that the Secretary read what is before the convention.

THE CHAIRMAN: This is the substitute motion to put this in place of the recommendation of the committee.

DEL. TOOLE (Md.): The motion was not to adopt the whole thing, all the recommendations of the committee. The resolution is simply for a party newspaper. That was the motion.

DEL. SIMONS (Ill.): With your permission I will state the substance. That the members of Local San Francisco consider it would be for the best interests of the Socialist movement in America to have a national Socialist paper either daily or weekly, or both, owned and controlled by the party.

DEL. DEUTZMAN: I rise to a question of order.

DEL. IRENE SMITH (Ore.): If you adopt this it is simply a suggestion, is it not?

A DELEGATE: No.

DELEGATE IRENE SMITH: This would simply be a suggestion that we have a party paper.

THE CHAIRMAN: It would at least be an indorsement of that idea.

DEL. IRENE SMITH: A suggestion only, not that we are bound to have a paper.

THE CHAIRMAN: No.

DELEGATES: Vote!

THE CHAIRMAN: Those favoring the adoption of the resolution will stand.

DEL. SLOBODIN (N. Y.): A point of order. The Chairman has ruled that this resolution is merely a suggestion. I understand this resolution to be mandatory upon the party; if we adopt it then the national committee will have to establish that paper.

THE CHAIRMAN: I will ask the

secretary to read that resolution and I will refuse to interpret it.

DEL. SIMONS: Instructions to delegates from Local San Francisco to the Socialist Party National Convention to be held in Chicago May 1, 1904:

"Resolved, That the members of Local San Francisco consider it would be for the best interests of the Socialist movement in America to have a National Socialist paper, either daily or weekly, or both, owned and controlled by the party."

DEL. CARR (Ill.): A question of information. The committee moves that that be modified, or it has been moved that the report of the committee be concurred in. Isn't the substitute before us to be voted on first? I want to know where we are at.

THE CHAIRMAN: That is the substitute here.

DEL. CARR: Then that is the only question. If we vote to endorse the recommendation of the committee it kills the resolution.

THE CHAIRMAN: The only question now is, shall this resolution be adopted? Those favoring it will stand.

DEL. TOOLE: There appears to be some misunderstanding.

THE CHAIRMAN: Those opposed stand. The motion is lost. The question now is upon the adoption of the recommendation of the committee.

DEL. WALDHORST (Ala.): I make an amendment—

THE CHAIRMAN: No; you cannot make an amendment now.

DEL. SIMONS: Does the convention want the resolution that applies to this particular point read?

THE CHAIRMAN: Read it over.

DEL. SIMONS: The committee recommends that any paper that assumes to speak for the Socialist party shall be under the control of the party members or party organization.

A delegate moved the adoption of the recommendation. Seconded.

A DELEGATE: I desire to ask whether that would include private papers which are defending Socialist principles?

DEL. SIMONS: Certainly not. What interpretation is to be placed on papers which presume to speak for the Socialist party? They must be under the control of the party organization or membership.

DEL. IRENE SMITH: You understand this is not mandatory. We are not amending the constitution; we are simply making a recommendation; it is only something that we look upon with favor.

A DELEGATE: A question of information. As I understand it, there are a number of papers like the Seattle Socialist or the New York Worker which are owned by labor organizations and are published for the purpose of improving the members by the diffusion of pure and simple rot. I want to ask whether Comrade Simons and his committee would use the literary productions of the editors of such papers, or whether he desires to follow the example of the Socialists in St. Louis some years ago.

DEL. TOOLE: A point of order. He is not discussing the question.

DEL. MILLS (Kan.): I wish to make a motion that the convention do not concur in the recommendations. (Seconded.) I wish to speak to that motion.

THE CHAIRMAN: There is a motion before the house.

DEL. MILLS: It is the recommendation of the committee that is before the house, is it not?

THE CHAIRMAN: No. It has been moved and seconded that the recommendation of the committee be concurred in.

DEL. MILLS: Then I move to amend by making it read that it be not concurred in. Now, Mr. Chairman—

DEL. TOOLE: A point of order. There is no second to the motion.

DEL. MILLS: Yes; it is seconded.

DEL. TOOLE: You can speak to the motion.

DEL. MILLS: I speak to the motion as it stands. I understand that there was no motion. I will withdraw my motion and speak then to the motion as it stands. Now, comrades, the question we have is this, in my judgment, is

only another form of the same question which we have just had. (Applause.) I do not care to be placed in a position where in attempting to take the advice of this committee I shall be making inquiry as to the personal politics of the stockholders in the publishing company which owns the magazine that Comrade Simons edits.

DEL. SIMONS: You are welcome to it.

DEL. MILLS: I do not wish to do it. It does not seem to me that this is a matter of importance. The editorship of the paper we have disposed of is based upon the party ownership. Now the same comrades who are opposed to the party ownership of the paper in order that through that ownership the editorship may be controlled by the party, propose a recommendation that papers shall be discredited on the ground that somebody owns at least some share in them—some persons who are not themselves members of the Socialist party.

A DELEGATE: That is not the argument.

DEL. MILLS: If not, why then the recommendation? If there is no idea back of this recommendation, then there is no reason for this recommendation. (Applause.) I do not believe it is necessary. I cannot see any interest that can be served. I can only see a club put into the hands of some one who wishes to further a private quarrel. I do not believe that that is the wish of

this convention. I therefore, shall vote against it on that ground. It can serve no good purpose; it simply furnishes clubs—for what purpose?

DEL. DALTON (Ill.): I want to ask Comrade Simons to read that again.

DEL. SIMONS: "We recommend that any paper that assumes to speak for the Socialist Party shall be under the control of the party members of party organization." I will say that it was far from our idea to interfere in any way with any of the private papers.

DEL. DALTON: What in the name of common sense does this recommendation mean? If a paper like the *American Labor Union Journal* comes out and says "Socialism is so and so, we believe in this and that," what are you going to do to them? Throw them into jail if they assume to speak for the Socialist Party? What are you going to do; put them on the carpet? What has this convention got to do with them? We cannot go outside of the party. We cannot go outside of the party press. We might as well come down here and discipline John R. Walsh of the *Chicago Chronicle*. He does not assume to speak for the party; he speaks for capital. It seems to me this recommendation is nonsense. I move you that it be laid on the table. Seconded.

The motion to lay on the table was put and carried.

On motion the convention then adjourned until Wednesday morning, May 4, 1904.

FOURTH DAY'S SESSION—MORNING

Chairman Richardson called the convention to order at 9 o'clock, and on motion a recess was taken until 9:20, leaving to the small attendance.

At 9:20 the convention reassembled, and the following nominations were made for Chairman for the day:

Sieverman (N. Y.), by Hillquit, (N. Y.).

Mills (Kan.), by Webster (Ohio).

Morgan (Ill.), by Dillno (Mo.).

Smith (Ore.), by Hayes (Okla.).

Barnes (Pa.), by Wilkins (Cal.).

Heath (Wis.), by Klein (Minn.).

Delegates Barnes and Heath declined.

The result of the vote was announced as follows: Sieverman, 38; Mills, 20; Morgan, 9; Smith, 5. Delegate Sieverman was declared elected.

Delegate Brandt (Mo.) nominated Delegate Morgan (Ill.) for Vice-Chairman.

Delegate Mills (Kan.) was also nominated, but declined, and on motion of Delegate Mills the Secretary cast the ballot of the convention for Delegate Morgan as Vice-Chairman.

Delegate Sieverman then assumed the chair.

THE CHAIRMAN: The first thing in order is the report of the Committee on Credentials.

Delegate Toole of Maryland rose to his feet.

THE CHAIRMAN: Do you belong to the Committee on Credentials?

DEL. TOOLE: No.

THE CHAIRMAN: For what purpose do you rise?

DEL. TOOLE: To a question of personal privilege. Perhaps it is a question of information.

THE CHAIRMAN: I want to say for the information of the delegate from Maryland that the Chair is not a bureau of information at all, and there is nothing in order at this time except the report of the Committee on Credentials.

DEL. TOOLE: I know; but this is very important. I would like to know what position the *Appeal to Reason* occupies—whether it is an official exponent of this convention.

THE CHAIRMAN: You are not in order in making the inquiry at this time. Is the Committee on Credentials ready to report?

DEL. TOOLE: I appeal from the decision of the Chair.

Vice-Chairman Morgan assumed the Chair.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN: Are you ready to vote in regard to the appeal?

DEL. TOOLE: It is simply this: I asked a question of information, and the precedent set in this convention has been that all such motions have been considered. I see no reason why it should not be now. That is all. It is a very important matter to bring before this convention.

CHAIRMAN SIEVERMAN: I desire to say that the Chair does not recognize a point of information in an inquiry of that sort. Delegates will have to depend for their information upon the regular proceedings of this convention, and the Chair is not qualified to give any information other than that which naturally comes up in the proceedings of this convention, which every member of this convention is aware of.

The question was then put on the appeal, and the Chair was sustained.

The Chairman resumed the chair.

Several committees were called for, but were not ready to report. The Committee on Municipal Program was called for.

DEL. FLOATTEN (Colo.): Whenever it is in order I would like to read a memorial from Colorado that should be read under the head of that committee.

DEL. STROBEL (N. J.): I move that we take up the report of the Committee on Press.

THE CHAIRMAN: That will be unfinished business.

DEL. STROBEL: Was not the Press Committee the first business on the program this morning?

THE CHAIRMAN: No, sir; the Committee on Press and any other business unfinished yesterday comes up under unfinished business to-day. The order of business is the order as I have read it. In that order you have adopted it, and it is in that order that you will do business to-day.

Report of Committee on Constitution

The report of the Committee on Constitution was taken up, and at the suggestion of Delegate Mills (Kan.) the members of the committee present gathered about the table on the platform for the purpose of consultation.

DEL. HILLOUT, of the Committee: I believe the draft of the Constitution as a whole has been read, and what is now before us is the taking up of the report section by section.

Article 1 was read as follows:

"Article 1. Name. The name of this organization shall be the Socialist Party, except in states where a different name has by law become a legal requirement."

THE CHAIRMAN: You have heard the reading of the first paragraph of the report of the Committee on Constitution. What is your pleasure?

DEL. ROBINSON (Ky.): I move that this order be followed in the consideration and adoption of the Constitution: That it be read section by section, and if no objection is made, that we proceed with the reading and consider that that section is adopted, and then when we get through the whole of it we adopt it as a whole. Seconded.

THE CHAIRMAN: If there is no objection that motion will be entertained at this time in order to facilitate business. Is there any objection to entertaining that motion at this time?

DEL. WEBSTER (Ohio): I thought I moved that yesterday.

THE CHAIRMAN: I asked the Secretary if we had passed that he said no. He ought to be authorized.

The motion of Delegate Robinson was put and carried.

THE CHAIRMAN: Is there objection to the adoption of Article 1?

DEL. TOOLE: Yes.

DEL. WHITE (Mass.): I move the adoption of the article. Seconded.

DEL. TOOLE: I move to amend it so as to read: "The name of the organization shall be The Socialist Party of America."

THE CHAIRMAN: I would suggest that an amendment to the Constitution should be in writing. It will be impossible for the delegates, the Chair or the Secretary to intelligently follow amendments unless they are submitted in writing. Will the delegates kindly write his amendment?

DEL. WALDHORST (Ala.): I do not think it will be possible for the Socialist Party to change that part of the Constitution, for the simple reason that there are several states where the election law now in force prevents the adoption of the name "Socialist Party," and if we would adopt that amendment that in itself would debar in those states the party from participating in elections. Now in Wisconsin they have to keep the name Social Democratic and in New York the same. They have not about the same rules as the others, and for that reason any change of the constitution as read here would prevent the party from participating in elections in those states. It would be very unwise to accept such an amendment as that.

THE CHAIRMAN: Comrade Toole of Maryland offers an amendment which is now writing it. As I understand it it is to amend it so as to make it read "Socialist Party of America." How does it read now?

THE SECRETARY: "Socialist Party except in states."

DEL. TOOLE: I will fix that and add "except in states," and so forth. Delegate Carr moved the previous question. Seconded.

THE CHAIRMAN: Will Comrade Toole again state his amendment, so that delegates can vote intelligently?

A DELEGATE: I withdraw my second.

THE CHAIRMAN: Is there any objection to the delegate withdrawing his second to the amendment?

DELEGATES: Consent.

THE CHAIRMAN: Then the vote comes upon the original article.

The motion to adopt the article was put and carried.

Qualifications for Membership.

Article 2 was then read as follows:

"Article 2. Membership. Every person a resident of the United States, of the age of eighteen years and upwards, without distinction of sex, race, color, creed or occupation, who subscribes to the platform and declaration of principles of the party and is of unobjectionable personal character, shall be eligible to membership in the party."

THE CHAIRMAN: Any objection?

DEL. TOOLE: I object. It will be impossible for us to write out amendments and make progress.

THE CHAIRMAN: Very well, if it is impossible or impracticable the Chair will entertain any amendment that you make orally.

DEL. TOOLE: The objection I make is that no man should become a member of this party unless he is a citizen of the country.

THE CHAIRMAN: I want to say that the Chair will not entertain any discussion upon anything that is not before the house. A motion must be made, and when a motion is made then I will entertain discussions, and not before.

DEL. CARR (Ill.): I move that the article stand as reported. Seconded.

DEL. OSWALD (N. J.): The word "occupation" is there. It seems to me that with the wording given we could not make a distinction as to a person holding an office under the Democratic or Republican party. I move that this word "occupation" be stricken out. Seconded.

THE CHAIRMAN: The members of the committee desire to be heard, and it is fair to hear them first.

DEL. RICHARDSON (Cal.): That

difficulty can be easily got around by putting a proviso in there, if need be, to the effect that no one holding an office to which he has been elected or appointed by a capitalist party shall be qualified to be a member of the party. It can be easily covered. The word "occupation" is there and should be there. If anybody wants to make that qualification it can be easily done. If you will just pass this for a little while we will have it arranged.

DEL. MILLS, of the committee: The real question that the committee had before, it in regard to this word "occupation" is not on the proposition of the politics of the applicant. The word "occupation" has a distinct meaning. It means the method by which a man earns his livelihood. Now the question has been raised whether a man who is a farmer or merchant or blacksmith or an employer of labor shall be eligible. That is the question that is involved. But if we are to determine that "occupation" means any line of occupation that a man may be engaged in, in which he must earn his living, then that wants to be stricken out. If, however, membership is not to rest upon the line of the trade in which a man is earning his living, then it ought to remain. My judgment is that the Socialist Party ought to continue to do what it has always done so far as I am informed: Refuse to determine the means and method by which a man must earn his living before he shall be admitted to membership in the Socialist Party.

DEL. TAFT (Ill.): I favor striking out the word "occupation." My reason is, first, that it is wholly unnecessary. No political party or no body sees fit, no organized body finds it necessary, to make such a provision. It seems to me that our position is stronger if we do not call attention to the fact that there are differences between occupations. Personally, I stand for the proposition that the Socialist Party is a working class party, although there are many members in it and will continue to be who are not working men. But I am of the opinion that retaining this word "occupation" will be construed, and properly and naturally construed, as a bait not merely to bring in persons who are not workingmen—which of course is all right—but it is a movement taking us away or having

a tendency to take us away from our position as a working class party. I think it is totally unnecessary. I, therefore, favor the amendment.

DEL. GLANZ (N. J.): I am opposed to that word in that section of the constitution. I hold that if that word remains there the entire police department of any city in the United States could join our party.

DEL. GIBBS (Mass.): I move that we strike out from this report that part referring to personal character. Seconded.

THE CHAIRMAN: The motion now before us is the amendment that the words "and is of unobjectionable moral character" be stricken out.

DEL. GOSS (Ohio): I wish to speak on the amendment. Before I speak I would like to ask a question. I would like to ask the delegates from Nebraska if it is true that a local in that state or a body of people willing to form a local were refused a charter on the ground that the majority of them were not what we call wage-workers?

THE CHAIRMAN: I will state that we are not now answering inquiries on anything but procedure. We are debating a party constitution, and the comrade will confine himself to the point.

DEL. GOSS: If the Chair will just bear with me a little while I will show the point I wish to make. It is that if we strike this word "occupation" out it will give any state the privilege of doing that. Whether that has been done or not is not of much importance now, but it might afterward be important, and if we strike this word out from the constitution I believe the states will be perfectly in order in refusing the application of a member or of a body for a charter because of their occupations. Will that not be so?

DEL. MAILLY (Neb.): I am not going to discuss the proposition. I think it is generally agreed among the delegates that there should be no distinction of occupation, because after all it remains with the individual. If we can get the working class to join the party and organize the party, upon them depends whether the working class shall control or not. Now, then, I think that the proposition presented is not concerning,

as far as I understand, whether one belongs to the middle class or capitalist class or professional class. I think that the question was raised in order to prevent the recurrence of such an incident as the one affecting Comrade Gridley of Indiana. I think the delegates ought to understand that. It is not a question, so far as I am aware, of what class they belong to, but whether we are going to allow men holding office at the hands of the capitalist parties to be members of the Socialist Party; that is the question.

DEL. HEYDRICK (Pa.): I rise to a point of order. It is that the words "without distinction of sex, race, color, creed or occupation" are entirely superfluous and tautological.

THE CHAIRMAN: You are entirely out of order. That is no point of order.

DEL. HEYDRICK: The reason I take this opportunity—

THE CHAIRMAN: Pardon me, Delegate Heydrick, you are not in order. You raised a point of order and are making a speech upon the merits of the question. The delegate from Massachusetts has the floor.

DEL. HEYDRICK: I appeal from the decision of the Chair.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN: The decision of the Chair has been appealed from. Delegate Heydrick has the floor.

DEL. HEYDRICK: My position is that in all parliamentary bodies the Chairman has a right and is in duty bound to make English of such propositions as he may be required to present to his body; that this is so self-evidently tautological, that these words are so transparently superfluous that we are wasting the time of this convention in discussing one or the other of them; that this statement is made, that "every person, resident of the United States, of the age of eighteen years and upward," may be eligible to membership in the party. The most comprehensive term possible is employed. There is no way to expand that, and that word simply intended perhaps to make it more pronounced, if such a thing is possible, ought not to be permitted to go into the fundamental declaration of the party. It makes us ridiculous in the

eyes of every one who understands English. I make the point of order for the purpose of cutting off this endless debate. I know Comrade Chairman Sieverman would appreciate that. I think he is wrong in ruling the point not well taken, and that he as Chairman ought to rule on a question of this kind not according to the strictest interpretation of parliamentary law, but according to the merits of the case, and I think if he can save the time of the convention by a declaration of that sort he ought to do it.

CHAIRMAN SIEVERMAN: This would prolong the debate all day. It has been a habit of delegates to raise a point of order when they never intend to speak on the merits of the question, and this is one case. You will notice that the delegate from Pennsylvania, under the guise of a point of order and in an appeal from the decision of the Chair, made his argument in toto on this question. (Applause) That is a parliamentary trick, and it will not be permitted here to-day. As to the merits of what the delegate says, the Chairman of this day is not going to assume to sit in judgment on the merits or demerits of any proposition before this convention. The Chairman of this day is going to assume that the collective wisdom of this convention far transcends any humble opinion that he might hold as to the merits or demerits of any proposition before them.

The question was put on the appeal, and the decision of the Chair was sustained.

DEL. GIBBS (Mass.): I moved to strike out that part that relates to personal character. I sincerely hope that that part will be stricken out. I think I may say that I have a fairly decent moral character myself, and I think that that question ought not to enter into our minds in considering a member's relationship with the party. I do not believe there is any danger whatever that the Socialist party will be commonly called a party of immoral persons, but I believe this leaves the door open for the admission of a whole lot of personal prejudices and personal idiosyncrasies. That question has already come up before this convention. It is not a danger of the future; it is already here. I recall one case, and I sincerely

hope that that part of the resolution will be stricken out. I believe there is so much that is good in the worst of us and so much that is bad in the best of us that it will not do for any of us to talk about the rest of us. (Applause.)

DEL. WHITE (Mass.): I rise to support the amendment offered by Delegate Gibbs of Massachusetts, on practically the same grounds as those which he offers. It seems to me that to embody this within the constitution would establish a dangerous precedent. The question would arise later, "Who is to be the censor of the morals of those who apply for membership?" I know that it has been my experience that there are to-day within the Socialist movement in the State of Massachusetts those who have been cast in such a narrow mold that they would prevent those who are delegates to this convention from being within the organization if they had it within their power, and I believe that this should be entirely eliminated, and that we should not attempt to be the judges of the moral character of those who come into the organization. We as Socialists recognize that character is the result of environment, and if that is the case let the organization be the judge of its own applicants, without this being in the Constitution, and it not being there, under the old axiom that that which is not prohibited is allowed, if a person of clearly objectionable character applied to a local organization for admittance it is within the powers and province of that local organization to reject him if it will. I trust that this amendment may be adopted.

DEL. UPERT (N. J.): I move this as a substitute for the whole: "Every person, resident of the United States, of the age of eighteen years and upwards, without distinction of sex, race, color or creed, who has severed his connection with every other political party, and who subscribes to the principles of the Socialist party, shall be eligible to membership." I offer that as a substitute for the whole.

Seconded by Delegate Toole.

DEL. WILL (Kan.): I wish to offer an amendment to the amendment that has just been made, including the phrase which we find here, and in addition to the amendment just offered by the

comrade from New Jersey, namely, "who subscribes to the platform."

THE CHAIRMAN: Delegate Uflet offers as a substitute for the whole that every person, resident of the United States, of the age of eighteen years and upward, without distinction of sex, race, color or creed, who has severed his connection with all other political parties, and who has subscribed to the principles of the party, is eligible to membership. I want to suggest that we have had before us a motion, an amendment, an amendment to the amendment, and now we have a substitute. That will end any additions or alterations so far as this subject is concerned. We will now proceed to discuss the substitute, and let us be very brief and vote upon the substitute.

DEL. GIBBS: I did not offer the motion as an amendment to the amendment, but as an amendment to the proposition of the committee, as a separate and distinct amendment.

THE CHAIRMAN: It goes as an amendment to the amendment. There was an amendment amending that paragraph of the committee's report, and you add to that amendment by amending the amendment, and what is before us now is the substitute for all that preceded.

DEL. WALDHORST (Ala.): Under this new constitution we are in the same fix as we were with the same article under the old constitution. It does not provide for any man, as we have had occasion to talk about when the Committee on Credentials made their report. There is no provision in it, and as the Chairman just stated, he wanted to cut off any other proposition that is to be made as to that article, and we will be in the same fix under the new constitution as we were under the old. I want to offer this amendment: It is that there shall be included in that article, "and who does not hold any position obtained by an election of a capitalist party or by a city council or any governing body of any capitalist administration, except positions obtained by civil service." If you cut out the civil service rule for men that don't just like any other laborers who don't hold a position, that is, an office, but are simply day laborers who can be discharged any day, then you will do away

with the objection offered by so many comrades that we would have to include any man that works for the government, city, state or national, as not eligible to membership. But a man that holds an office under any capitalistic administration should be, and must be under the ethics of Socialism, debarred from membership. For that reason we will provide a bar to those petty politicians who would and are now seeking in a good many places in the United States admission into the party, because they know the party is growing and they will have the power under the condition in the city or State to obtain an office not because they are Socialists, not by any means, but for the simple reason that they can get a good job. It is for the office and not for the principle. If this party will not provide for such characters as that, then you will have them, and no doubt we have got them now in some places. The attempts are being made all over. For instance, one man, a chief of police, signed an application for a charter, and the charter was refused. In another case, an alderman elected on the Democratic ticket applied as a charter member, and he was refused. Why? Because he could not hold an office under a Democratic administration and still be a member of the Socialist Party. There are a good many men now who hold official positions, elected when they had not accepted fully the principles of Socialism, and they are staying out of the party for the simple reason that they know that there might be a certain influence exerted by them over the conduct of the policy of the Socialist Party, and we want to prevent that. I do not think it is any injustice to any man, if he holds any position like that, that he will not be admitted as a member. He can work for Socialism just the same. It does not bar him; he can vote the ticket. The only thing we want to provide for—not against a member that is honest—he can do as much, doubtless, outside as in, and he can contribute to the party funds—but we want to provide a certain measure by which we can keep out undesirable characters holding an official position under the capitalist parties. (Applause.)

DEL. HILLQUIT: I will try to explain the position of the committee on the two questions under discussion. As far as occupation is concerned, it was

to emphasize the stand of the party on certain questions which have been discussed in the past. As far as the other proposition is concerned, that of unobjectionable personal character, I believe Delegate Gibbs misunderstands the spirit of it. It was not the desire of the committee to prescribe rules by which that the party may not accept objectionable character, but it was the desire to leave that exactly as it was. If you leave that out, a State will have no power to provide against objectionable characters. An objectionable character may be one, for instance, who leads in the field of trade unionism, for we have discovered that a number of men apparently active are in the pay of the capitalist employers as spies, and the chances will certainly be that they will try to get admission to the party. If you strike out this clause and if you leave that part in that persons of a certain age, without regard to sex, race, creed or occupation, shall be eligible, you could not reject them on that score. That was but one instance. There may be ten or twenty others. If we drop it as proposed it would be left to each body to say what is objectionable to them, and those comrades who say that we are products of our environment and so on will use the same arguments in the respective states, and the man who has made a false step will not be objectionable to them under this constitution. I desire further to report that our committee has drafted a provision covering the substitute offered by Delegate Waldhorst, which is as follows: "Provided, that a person holding any office to which he shall have been elected or appointed except on civil service examination, by or through the assistance of any capitalist party, shall not be entitled to membership in the Socialist Party." That covers the provision and the application for membership, and also the member who has been admitted and has subsequently accepted office.

DEL. WILSON (Cal.): Comrade Chairman, and Comrades: I rise to object to the phrase in this article which says "of objectionable personal character." I do not believe that the examination afforded us by the member of the committee is satisfactory. A man's character differs from a man's relationship to the Socialist movement. I do not think that I am in very great danger just to-day of being cut off by

this particular phrase, but one of the most undesirable types of character that we have in America is supposed by conventional society to be those of our fellow-citizens who have been in jail, and we have a number of men that are in this convention to-day and that are the most notable members of this body, who have already been in jail. (Applause.) Character is a question. The point I wish to make is this, that if this point is left in this condition as to membership it does afford to people who wish to supervise the character of other people a handle by which they can club them. I have seen men in state organizations reeling drunk in our meetings and taking the platform under those conditions, and while they may necessarily have to be called down, I would refuse under any circumstances to expel them from the party. (Applause.) Now, I hope that this proposition will be entirely stricken out from this paragraph of the constitution. It is entirely unnecessary. It does not cover the provision that was suggested by Comrade Hillquit, a member of the committee. Some other provision distinct and unequivocal ought to be made to cover the question. I hope this phrase will be entirely stricken out.

DEL. COGSWELL (Kan.): As a woman I would like to say that I am not in favor of the "unobjectionable moral character." If there is any place in the world where we ought to take the immoral character, it is into this advance movement. (Applause.) I am not afraid to stand beside any woman or man trying to do their part in making the world better. I am not afraid, and I do not know that any member ought to be, to go into any building or into any organization with a person that has made mistakes, if he is trying to unmake them. I see in this one clause an opportunity for every gossip or scandal spreader in the party to make trouble for every one seeking admission. (Applause.)

Delegate Floaten (Colo.) moved the previous question.

Seconded and carried.

DEL. ZORN (Ohio): I am particularly opposed to the phrase referring to unobjectionable personal character. What holds good in the trade unions also holds good in our organization. I am a

member of a labor organization, at the head of it, with 31,000 members. We have the same phrase in our constitution, and it puts us to more trouble than anything else we have in the constitution. Now, we have found that some of the best people are barred from the organization through personality and otherwise, and I hope that this phrase will be stricken out of this article.

DEL. WEBSTER (Ohio): I rise to a point of order. It is that the Chairman is not following the rule adopted yesterday that there would be just two to speak on the previous question, and that the affirmative should be given to the mover of this motion. The gentleman here did not move the motion.

THE CHAIRMAN: Have we any such rule as that?

DEL. WEBSTER: Yes.

THE CHAIRMAN: I beg your pardon, I did not know of any such rule, and until you point it out to me I shall be bound by the regular rule.

DEL. GOAZIOU (Pa.): I am opposed to the position of the committee. I do not believe there ought to be any restriction as to membership, the same as in the trade unions. I am a trades unionist, and I believe we ought to admit into our organization any man who agrees to the platform and principles of our organization, no matter what his occupation, so long as he understands the principles of the party and the needs of the working class.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Secretary will now read the substitute for the whole, and when that is read there will be absolutely nothing in order but a vote on this substitute immediately after the Secretary has read it, inasmuch as the previous question has been ordered.

DEL. YOUNG (Wis.): I appeal from the decision of the Chair.

THE CHAIRMAN: Kindly sit down and let the Secretary read.

THE SECRETARY: Substitute for Article II offered by Ufert as follows: "Every person, resident of the United States, of the age of eighteen years and upwards, without distinction of race, color, sex or creed, who has severed connection with all other political parties, and who subscribes to the principles of

the party, shall be eligible to membership,"

The motion was put and the substitute adopted.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Secretary of the committee will proceed with the next paragraph.

DEL. WALDHORST: What has become of the part the committee submitted in addition to that?

THE CHAIRMAN: The committee was out of order in submitting a recommendation of that kind and it was not entertained.

DEL. HILLQUIT, of the Committee: At this time the Committee will propose this addition as Section 2: "Any person holding any office to which he shall have been elected or appointed except on civil service examination, by virtue of the assistance of any capitalist party, shall not be entitled to membership in the Socialist Party."

The adoption of the section was moved and seconded.

DEL. WILL (Kan.): I approve of the spirit and purpose of the clause, but it appears to me that it is entirely too sweeping. It seems to me that it might, for instance, exclude the school teacher or it might exclude from the party one who was working in a publicly owned industry, as gas works or water works. I would like to be enlightened on this point. If the language is not so sweeping as to exclude people of this character, I have no objection to offer; otherwise, I have.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Committee will go into conference and will discuss the question you ask, and will give the information, no doubt.

DEL. BARNES (Pa.): I move the strike out that part submitted by the committee and insert "no person holding a position, honorary or remunerative—"

DEL. YOUNG (Wis.): I rise to a question of personal privilege. A while ago I desired to appeal from the decision of the Chair and the Chairman made me sit down. I want to know if we are to be governed by rules such as were formed by Reed when he was in control of Congress.

THE CHAIRMAN: Is that your question of personal privilege?

DEL. YOUNG: I want to offer a reason for this question of personal privilege. I want to appeal from the decision of the Chair when he stated that the mover was not to be given the first three minutes. It was passed yesterday. He decided the other way, and I want to appeal from the decision of the Chair.

THE CHAIRMAN: I want to state for the information of the delegate and all the delegates that I am no encyclopedist and do not profess to be. I do not profess to have digested all the rules and resolutions and amendments to the resolutions that have been adopted, but when there are delegates who profess to know more about the rules than the chair they will have to point out the rule I do not make general statements, but be specific. Show us the rule and we will be guided by the rule.

DEL. MAILLY: I have a question of personal privilege. I do not appeal from the decision of the Chair. The printing that is being circulated around the hall does not bear the union label, and I want to state that it was the fault of the printer, and not our fault. We gave him explicit instructions that all our printing had to bear the union label. I make this statement to the delegates present so they will know that it has been printed by a union shop, and it is not our fault that the label is not on the printing. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: If the Committee on Constitution has its revision ready we will be glad to hear from it.

Admission of Office Holders

DEL. HILLQUIT: I have it now coming from the Committee. The only change made was the insertion of the word "political" before "office," so that the proposition will now read, "Any person holding any political office to which he shall have been elected or appointed, except on civil service examination, by or through the assistance of any capitalist party, shall not be entitled to membership in the Socialist Party." A delegate moved to adopt the section as read. Seconded.

DEL. KOLACHNEY (Okla.): I move an amendment that the last phrase, "through and by the assistance of capitalist parties," be stricken out.

The amendment was seconded by Delegate Toole (Md.).

DEL. HILLQUIT: It will read now, "A person holding any political office to which he shall have been elected or appointed except on civil service examination shall not be entitled to membership in the party."

THE CHAIRMAN: Where is our alderman from Milwaukee? What would he say to that?

DEL. WEBSTER (Ohio): It seems to me that that clause is unnecessary and it will lead to trouble in the future. Suppose that a man should be chosen for senator in a state in which the Socialists have practically four-tenths of the votes, and that the Democrats and Republicans between them have the others, and that there was in one of the old parties a real Socialist who was elected as a Republican; well, should we increase from 40 per cent to 51 per cent and elect a Socialist in the United State Senate, then he would have to get out of the Socialist Party.

DEL. BERGER (Wis.): A point of information. Read it again. We cannot understand it. We want to know what we are voting on.

Delegate Hillquit re-read the section.

DEL. KEOWN (Mass.): Comrade Chairman, I would like to ask Comrade Hillquit through you if that is retroactive, and would it expel members already in the party?

THE CHAIRMAN: Perhaps Comrade Hillquit can give an answer.

DEL. HILLQUIT: Not at all. I do not see what information I can give you which would be authoritative. The committee is here to draft the propositions as desired.

DEL. KEOWN: I ask it as a legal point.

DEL. HILLQUIT: I should not want to answer because it would do no good, as the party would certainly in the future have the right to do as it pleases. All that we are occupied with is the drafting of rules for our future guidance.

DEL. KEOWN: I merely asked him his opinion on that from a legal standpoint. It has nothing to do with the question of referendum.

THE CHAIRMAN: Delegate Hillquit says that his address in New York is 320 Broadway. (Laughter.)

DEL. KEOWN: I still have the

floor. I want to say in regard to that matter that I am opposed to it. It seems to me that the number of men who might be admitted holding office under those conditions would be so small that it would not make practically any difference in the Socialist movement. And again, it seems to me—

DEL. SPARGO (N. Y.): I rise to a point of order. I protest against the waste of time by the delegate.

THE CHAIRMAN: That is no point of order.

DEL. SPARGO: Let me make my point of order. This comrade rose to a question of personal privilege.

THE CHAIRMAN: You are mistaken; he did no such thing. He rose under his right to speak on the subject, and asked a question of Delegate Hillquit, and now bases his argument upon that answer. Go on, Delegate Keown.

DEL. KEOWN: It seems to me we have already stated here, in one of the propositions, that we are in favor of the most unlimited membership possible. It seems to me the Socialist movement would gain considerable in that line by having men who are already holding office under that clause. I do not mean holding office because of political service, but holding appointive offices for merit. I believe the whole thing is impracticable. I do not think it is a wise thing for the Socialist movement to be so dictatorial in those matters. I think the widest possible latitude should be given the membership in this movement. I am not in favor, and no Socialist can be in favor, of any member of this party holding office under a capitalistic government for services to that government, but I am in favor, just as far as possible, of providing that members of this party shall be eligible who are holding appointive offices under capitalistic governments where they have been appointed for merit. As to this case of Comrade Gridley—here is a man absolutely dependent for his livelihood on that very office. He was appointed, without doubt, for merit. What would you do with the comrade? Either we must say that they must give up their membership in the party—which they hold dearer, perhaps, than life itself—or else they must give up their jobs. If they give up their jobs we are taking the bread out the mouths of those comrades. I think we should make the Socialist movement

broad, and I do not believe the small number of those men can do the movement any harm. I have heard Socialists again and again, when talking to some one whom they were trying to convert, refer to another man and say, "So-and-so is a Socialist." The fact that personally he is not class-conscious yet makes no difference. We win his attention, and then we can drive home the truth of scientific Socialism. I am opposed to it for this reason—and this sums up the whole thing—that it is a dictatorial plan; not with Socialists, but with those men whom we are trying to convert and make into Socialists. Therefore, I am opposed to that. If the committee would amend it and simply say, "Unless appointed for merit only," it would not hurt. This Comrade Gridley was a veteran in the Civil War. He is an old comrade, and in most of the states—

DEL. MAILLY: I rise to a point of order. We are not discussing Comrade Gridley.

THE CHAIRMAN: The point of order is not well taken. I want to remind the delegate that you have one more minute.

DEL. KEOWN: Well, that is enough—plenty. Under the law in Massachusetts men who are ex-soldiers are given the preference in civil service, and in some cases they do not have to take examinations at all. Therefore, even though it would be a civil service position, they would be barred out because they were relieved of the need of taking a civil service examination. I hope the committee will include a provision similar to the one that was proposed by the minority report offered by Comrade Titus.

DEL. JONAS (N. Y.): As it stands now the article says that if anybody gets a civil service position directly or indirectly by the aid of a capitalist party, then he may become a member of the party. That is, as it stands now.

THE CHAIRMAN: Pardon me, I do not understand.

DEL. JONAS: I say, as it stands now, if the article should be adopted, then it says that if anybody has a political office—civil service, office—and has obtained that by the aid, directly or indirectly, of a capitalistic party, then he may become a member of the party. Read it and you will find it.

Delegates Simons and Mills arose.

THE CHAIRMAN: Delegate Mills

DEL. SIMONS: I rise to a point of information. I want to know whether it is the policy of this chairman to give the floor to the first one that is on the floor.

THE CHAIRMAN: We asked the committee to report on this platform—

DEL. SIMONS: Are they to have the preference?

THE CHAIRMAN: Delegate Mills is one of the committee, and if was elected, or at least the Chair has ruled, that when there is any doubt as to the interpretation of what they submit they should have the preference, and after hearing what they say you will be recognized in due order.

DEL. SIMONS: I will not appeal, but I think I am entitled to the floor.

DEL. MILLS (Kan.): I am not getting the floor on behalf of the committee. I am asking to speak on the question as an individual delegate. I am in order I have the floor?

THE CHAIRMAN: You have ten minutes.

DEL. MILLS: Thank you. I am sure there are no delegates here that are not in favor of the rule we have just adopted, that in order to become a member of the Socialist Party the applicant must withdraw from all connection with any other political party, that was adopted practically by a unanimous vote. Now, this new clause was considered in an effort to secure agreement on the clause which we have already adopted, and comes before us now not as a part of the clause on which we have voted, but as a separate proposition. I can see no good reason why the clause now before the convention should be adopted. All that we can reasonably ask has already been provided for. All that this clause will provide will be a means of making trouble, and further, of bringing us into position where, at the very hour when we need most to act, we will have our hands. Think for a moment of a few of the conditions which are not at all improbable. We are a legislative body; there are a dozen Socialist members; they constitute the representatives of the Socialist Party. In the midst of

discussion a man who has been elected as a Democrat renounces his allegiance to the Democratic party, denies that he shall any longer in any way whatsoever have any connection whatsoever with the party that elected him. Must he first resign and go home to be elected over again? Or shall we, while we are acting under the capitalist state, take such advantage of the capitalist organization under which we are acting as will enable us to the greatest effect to fight the battles of the working class? (Applause.) Again: A judge is on the bench; a case directly involving the rights of the Socialist Party under the legal requirements which we have already established, comes up. The judge on the bench hearing the case becomes interested and convinced, and joins the Socialist Party, or offers to join. Must he resign the vantage ground which he already holds for service to the Socialist Party and place himself where he cannot serve, before he can become a member with us? (Voices, "No.") Let me ask you a question: May a man be a good and regular member of the Socialist Party who wears an old party badge on his coat? No. Very well. Fifty thousand Democrats in Chicago wore McKinley badges in the campaign of 1896, with a McKinley badge on the outside of their coats and another kind of a badge on the inside of the lapel of their coats. Shall we say to a man that he must fight single-handed with his own boss in his own shop before he shall be permitted to join with his comrades in the class-conscious movement—man for man, outside of the shop and among the comrades everywhere? (Applause.) Again: As to positions held by political appointment: The comrades in Chicago know—I presume it is equally true in New York, although I do not know—that rarely is there a man who is a motorman or a conductor on a city street car who does not hold his place on the recommendation of a ward boss or an alderman or a mayor. Shall we the our hands so that no man can help us until he shall first sacrifice his ability to stay alive, and then serve us while he starves? (Applause.) We have already covered every essential point when we have demanded that a man shall cease to be a Democrat or Republican or belong to any other organization in order to join ours. If we will stand to the end, and a unit all the

time, and having made that provision, we are safe. (Applause.)

DEL. MALLLY (Neb.): I hope the delegates to this convention will not allow themselves to be swayed or carried off their feet by a flood of reactionary sentiment. (Applause and hisses.) You can hiss, but that is the strongest argument you can make against our plea. The time has come when we have got to take a stand on this question. The time has come when we must differentiate between capitalist office-holders and Socialist office-holders. It is no argument to say that because a man is a notorman or is forced by compulsion to appeal to a ward boss to get his job—it is no argument to say that we should not keep him out of the Socialist Party. We have had experience in this matter in the East. We had it in the Socialist Labor Party, and every time we yielded we suffered. Go to Syracuse, New York. The Socialist Party had a vote of 2,500, I believe, in Syracuse. The candidate for mayor on the Socialist Labor ticket got 2,500 votes, and after the election he was appointed fire commissioner, and what happened to the movement? We cannot poll 300 votes in Syracuse to-day. He was expelled from the party, as he should have been, and the party has never recovered from the shock. Now, this is meant to be a general rule; you cannot cite instances. Every general rule must affect some individuals, and you cannot cite individual cases as an excuse for not establishing a general rule. We have got to take our stand one way or the other. We have got to announce to the world that we have no affiliation, direct or indirect, with any capitalist party or any one holding a position by virtue of a capitalist party anywhere. (Applause.) I have heard enough of this. This is the sort of talk that is causing trouble in the movement. Leave that substitute out, and you will have more trouble than you ever had before. It is because there is no specific law of the party affecting such cases that we have trouble everywhere. Take Comrade Gridley of Indiana, against whom I could not vote for a seat in this convention, not for any personal reason, but because I hate to sit in a Socialist convention with any one holding a position, whether with large or small remuneration, at the hands of a capitalist party. We do not need—I say, the Socialist Party, representing

the working class of the world, does not need to yield one jot of its position. We are gaining strength everywhere. Look at Milwaukee, look at Massachusetts, look at Montana, look everywhere, and we are making advances, and along a straight line. We do not need to yield, we do not need to divert ourselves one inch or one jot from our position. We can succeed without yielding anything. The movement is ours, if we hold to it, but let us turn aside and allow ourselves to be swayed by any other consideration but that of devotion to the principles of the Socialist movement, and that moment we encounter confusion and invite disintegration and that is what we must avoid. We must take our position and we must hold to it, no matter what individual may be hurt by it. We must hold it against all comers, and, holding that position, we can go on from Milwaukee to Chicago, from Chicago to New York, from New York to San Francisco, and capture the powers of government in this country without regard to the Democratic or Republican or Independent or Citizens Party, and by virtue alone of the class conscious ballots of the Socialist working class. (Applause.)

DEL. SIMONS: Well, Comrade Mallly has said a good deal of what I was going to say. I want to ask the committee, in order to get a little information on this, as to whether the proviso will exclude judges of election, whether they will be permitted, although they are appointive officers, as they are in most of the cities of the United States, in Chicago, Denver and several others, whether there is any proviso by which we can accept those officers.

THE CHAIRMAN: Will you repeat the question? I did not hear.

DEL. SIMONS: Can the Socialist Party, if this becomes a part of the Constitution, accept the offices of judges of election where those are appointed by the political powers that be, while we are still a minority party?

THE CHAIRMAN: That is for the committee.

DEL. HILLOUT: My construction is that I think they would not be barred from accepting them. We have had "political offices to which they shall have been elected or appointed by the through the assistance of any capitalist party." Wherever judges of election are

appointed giving representation to the Socialist party, it is by a statute enacted by the people, and not by any individual, and it is not by grace or by the instance of a political party, but by one of our rights secured by statute. (Applause.) I suppose that covers it, yet it does not state it very clearly. Under those conditions I am in favor of this. It seems to me that while we may recognize at once that individuals will be struck by the action; and while here and there are men who are employed on sewer works and in the various fields of municipal labor, who are absolutely unaffected by the fact that they are appointed under their influence, yet there will be here these individuals to whom this applies. Yet we cannot finally make rules for individuals. As Comrade Mallly said, we must make a rule to fit the man, and we do not want any man in the Socialist Party whose allegiance is divided, who owes a double allegiance, and that is true whether we recognize it when he is elected or not; I am for it.

DEL. BARNES (Pa.): I desire to submit the following as a substitute for the one now under consideration at the present time, and then desire to speak upon it: "No person occupying a position, honorarium or remunerative, by the gift of other party (civil service positions excepted) shall not be eligible to membership in the Socialist Party."

The Chair having stated the motion, Comrade Barnes continued:

DEL. BARNES: It is not the time for me to waver, in my opinion, but to make our declaration of separation complete and complete from all other political parties. (Applause.) I will read this proposition I have submitted. From the experience of the past in Pennsylvania we present this proposition. We want to say that during the coal strike, when thousands of men turned their eyes toward this Socialist propaganda and found comfort in Socialist philosophy, they sent down the spinal columns of the Democratic and Republican parties, and in the minute that they feared the rise of the proletarian, they began to offer special arguments to the working class, and not to put them on school boards, and

make them petty officers. What for? Because they loved them more, or because they feared us greater? They tried in this insidious manner to undermine our party, to create confusion and enervate our movement. What was it for? It was done simply to confuse and defeat the objects of the Socialist movement, and it has to a considerable extent served the purpose that they have in view. And the State Committee of Pennsylvania, in substance, adopted this very proposition as a safeguard against that in the future. They adopted it, and persons who became members of the Socialist Party, when they saw the tide setting in our way and we had some show to strike them, they immediately said, "Don't you want this or that position?" A number of our comrades said, "No, we won't accept a position." But they said, "Accept it. We know you are a Socialist; but accept it anyhow. We recognize only the ability of the man." And immediately a discussion arose saying that it was an honorary position; it was not a remunerative position, and they should accept it. And around that point an argument ensued detracting from the harmony and unity that should have existed. Therefore, I submit that this is the strongest declaration, the most clean-cut and comprehensive, and the least possible to misunderstand, and I want to read it again, so that you may become acquainted with the phraseology (reading the amendment). We don't want any cabinet positions by grace of the appointment of the President. We want no members of our party to occupy positions honorary or remunerative, because they don't want Socialists because they are of the working class, but they want Socialists to gain votes. We will find enough of the working class of America outside of places of political pretreatment to carry our grand movement to triumphant success. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: The Chairman of the Committee informs the Chair that the committee is ready to accept Comrade Barnes' substitute in lieu of their recommendation.

DEL. BERGER (Wis.): I am in favor of the substitute of Comrade Barnes. We must have a rule of that kind to keep our movement clear in Wisconsin. Since our victory last month almost every politician in Mil-

waukee has made the sudden discovery that he was a Socialist all his life (laughter) and a great deal better Socialist than Victor Berger ever dared to be. We have a rule in our Constitution in Wisconsin that in the first place no man holding office in any of the old parties can become a member of the Socialist Party—unless it be that his position is held under the civil service. Second, no one can run for office in the Socialist Party unless he has been a member in good standing for two years. (Applause.) And it is those two rules that have kept our movement in Wisconsin clean, progressive and socialist, and a rule of this kind is absolutely necessary in order to keep up the identity of our party in Wisconsin. A year ago last winter I was going up to Madison—Madison is the capital of our state, where they make the laws—and I had occasion to be in the same car with a dozen members of the Jefferson Club of Milwaukee. That is the Tammany Club of Milwaukee. They knew very well that our party was making grand headway, because we are keeping at it all the time—not with oratory, not with speeches, but we are keeping at it with literature all the time, and they knew where the literary wind was blowing at that time. The Secretary of that club declared he was going to join the Social Democratic Party, because that is the only party that stands for liberty, etc. We couldn't accept him, but about a dozen men in that car declared they were going to join our party, and asked me what I thought about it. I told them it was a good thing; I joined it a long time ago; but I told them there was one little condition in our party which they must expect to comply with. No man could come in our party from the old parties, I told them, if he has the office bee in his bonnet. I told them we had a little ice plant connected with our party, and he is put on the ice block for ten years. After ten years we take out the man and look at him and if he is still red, then we take him up—he is a good man. But if he turns white or is blonde or blue or yellow, he is no good; he is rotten. (Laughter.) Not one of those people said a word. We never heard of them again. They were not willing to be in the ice box. Now, you see, Comrades, a rule of this kind is absolutely necessary in order to keep the identity of our movement in Wis-

consin. We have between 19,000 and 20,000 votes. We have 2,000 more than the republicans and come within 2,000 of the democrats. Under these conditions, unless we have a rule like this we could not retain our identity.

DEL. HOEHN (Mo.): I am not taking exception to the remarks of our friend Comrade Mills. I remember about a year ago when a certain comrade, Rev. Hagerly of Arkansas, sent a note to all the Socialist papers of this country announcing to the Socialist movement of America that a great revolution had taken place in Arkansas. And that revolution was to the effect that two Democratic members of the legislature of Arkansas had become Socialists and would be from now on known as the representatives of the Socialist movement. The *Appeal to Reason* and a dozen other Socialist papers published that rotten information with out a line of comment. Not one of those Socialist papers had the courage to come out and criticize that contention. St. Louis *Labor* took the trouble to criticize the gentleman from Arkansas and inform the Socialists of this country that whenever the Democratic legislators of Arkansas were ready to join the Socialist movement they would have to resign from the Democratic party, get out of the legislature and take a position in the rank and file of the Socialist movement. Now, I hope that the substitute motion of Comrade Barnes will be adopted, and I hope that the *Appeal to Reason*, nor any other Socialist paper, nor Fathew Hagerly, will ever send out such rotten Democratic notes as was done a year ago.

At this point there were numerous calls of "Question," and upon motion of Delegate Nagel (Ky.) the previous question was ordered.

DEL. IRENE M. SMITH (Ore.): I wish to speak in favor of the adoption of the amendment. I believe, just as Comrade Mailly said, the time has come when the Socialist Party has got to take a stand on this question. What we want to-day is not quantity, but quality. That is what we want, and if I had my way I should make it harder to get into this party instead of easier. The idea of opening the doors of this party wide and allowing all sorts of people to come into it would mean to become swamped with the opposition of parties that would

come in for that set purpose. Then I speak in favor of this amendment as one of the safeguards of the future. And that is what we are here for,—to lay down a constitution that will in some way protect us against the encroachment of the enemy within our ranks. I want to say that there has got to be sacrifices made, and great sacrifices. If this party wins. And I want to say that the man or woman who wants to come into this party to-day and do nothing more of a capitalist job than they do of the Co-operative Commonwealth, we don't want them in it. (Applause.) I stand in favor of the amendment, and I hope that every delegate here who understands the principles of Socialism will put himself on record by voting this into our constitution as a safeguard for the future.

Delegate Titus of Washington requested the floor to speak in favor of the amendment, but the Chair stated that the floor would be given only one more speaker on this subject, and that he or she must be against the amendment.

DEL. WILL (Kas.): It seems to me that those in favor of this proposition are taking an entirely inconsistent position. They speak of Socialists holding a political job in this way being influential against the Socialist Party. I don't think there are different kinds of jobs. There are political jobs; there are educational jobs; there are religious; there are industrial jobs. I submit that a man who is influenced by bread and butter considerations if he holds a political position will be influenced by bread and butter considerations if he holds any of these other positions. And I submit in all consistency that if we are to exclude from membership in the Socialist Party those who hold political positions, then we must also exclude from membership in the Socialist Party those who hold educational positions; we must exclude those who hold religious positions; we must also exclude those who hold industrial positions. What is the difference whether a man holds his place by mere appointment from the Mayor of the City of Chicago, or whether he holds his position in the great department store of Marshall Field, or whether he holds a job in the oil works of John D. Rockefeller, or whether he holds any other great trust position? In all con-

sistency, my friends, I maintain if we cut out one class of workers we must cut out all the other classes. Another consideration, it seems to me if there is anything we need in the Socialist Party it is economic power. One of the difficulties under which we labor at the present time is lack of means to push our movement. We want people who are able to pay their dues and carry on the propaganda of this movement, and in order to do that we must have some means. Now I inquire, is it better that a member of this party shall be in a starving position, or whether he shall have a little income that will enable him to help him in carrying on this movement?

There were further cries of "Question!" at this point.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Chair wishes to make the announcement that under the amended rules after the previous question has been ordered, two delegates may speak, one on one side of the question and one on the other. That time has been exhausted now, and there is nothing before the House whatsoever except to vote on Delegate Barnes' substitute, and I call on the Secretary to again read that substitute. The Secretary has the floor.

A DELEGATE: Can I rise for information?

THE CHAIRMAN: The time for information has passed. The Secretary will give you all the information needed at this time by reading the substitute.

THE SECRETARY: The substitute as offered by Delegate Barnes of Pennsylvania, and accepted by the Committee on Constitution in place of the one which they have advocated, is as follows: "Any person occupying a position, honorary or remunerative, by the gift of any other party (civil service positions excepted) shall not be eligible to membership in the Socialist Party." The question then being put upon the adoption of the substitute motion of Delegate Barnes, the substitute was adopted amid the cheers and applause of the delegates.

THE CHAIRMAN: Delegate Mills asks the floor on a question of personal privilege, and it is hereby granted if there is no objection.

DEL. MILLS (Kas.): I wish to call your attention to the fact that I made a

speech on one side and voted on the other side—

DEL. PARKS (Kas.): I object.

THE CHAIRMAN: You objected too late. I asked if there was no objection, and heard none. Comrade Mills may proceed.

DEL. MILLS: I am very sure I shall do no one any harm, unless it is myself. I am very anxious to state to these Comrades that in the address which I gave I spoke with the distinct understanding, as I stated, that the first clause was sufficient to cover the case which was before us. The judgment of the convention as indicated in the discussion after I had spoken changed my view in regard to that matter.

DEL. PARKS: I object to this speech now taking our time. I was absent from the hall—

THE CHAIRMAN: I want to say for your information that the delegate asked the privilege of explaining his vote after speaking upon one side and voting on the other, and I asked distinctly if there was any objection, and there was none offered.

DEL. PARKS: I raise the point of order, Mr. Chairman—

THE CHAIRMAN: Please be in order. The Chair is not responsible for your absence from this convention.

DEL. MILLS: One sentence finishes all I have to say. Once before, before this convention, I plead for the adoption of a rule by this convention that once and for all time we might have an end to this discussion. I believe the end has arrived.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Chairman of the Committee on Constitution has the floor.

Thereupon, Article 3 of the report was read as follows:

"The affairs of the Socialist Party shall be administered by a National Committee, its officers and Executive Committee, the party conventions, and the general votes of the party."

Delegate Simons of Illinois moved that the paragraph as read be temporarily laid on the table, which motion was duly seconded and carried.

Representation on National Committee.

The Chairman of the Committee then read Section 1, Article IV, as reported by the Committee, as follows:

"ARTICLE 4. Section 1. Each organized state or territory shall be represented on the National Committee by one member and by an additional member for every one thousand members or major fraction thereof, in good standing in the party. For the purpose of determining the representation to which each state or territory is entitled, the National Secretary shall compute at the beginning of each year the average dues-paying membership of such state or territory for the preceding year."

DEL. HILLQUIT: The only proposition introduced by the committee was that each state having a membership exceeding 500 have an additional representation on the National Committee for each 500, which would be one for the state organization and one for each major fraction of 1,000, which would mean 501; and then again one for every 1,000. The reason for our doing this is on the last two referendums the party has first expressed itself as opposed to the present method in vogue giving representation to each state regardless of the number of its members; and on the second vote it has expressed its disapproval of one man on the committee casting more votes than another. These both methods were expressly disapproved by the party membership. The only way out of it was to give to each state a number proportionate to its membership. It has been suggested that we give to each state one National Committeeman for every 100 members, but that would have made the National an unwieldy body. It would practically be something like this convention in permanent session. In order to avoid that, and in order to do justice to those states that do have the larger membership, your committee suggests this, which is by far not ideal, but the ideal is out of this world. It is, however, as near doing justice to all sides of the question as possible. As it is, the older and stronger organizations will have the majority of the committee, and it is proper that they should have because they represent the vast majority of the party membership. They will at the same time not have such an overwhelming majority as to practically nullify the representation of the smaller states in number. Its office or its functions have also been limited somewhat, and it

is easy to transact business with it in case of correspondence. I may mention that the National Committee meetings, as we will find subsequently, have also been curtailed, and they will take place, if this method of representation is adopted, they will amount to conventions between states, that is, every two years regular convention has been held, presenting a smaller body of members. So those were the reasons suggested your committee in submitting this proposition.

CHAIRMAN: You have heard nothing of the committee's report. Questions to its adoption?

ROSE (Miss.): I rise to move

CHAIRMAN: If there is no objection the paragraph will be adopted. LEVEVER (Ark.): I wish to motion 1 of Article IV of the constitution by striking out the words "dues-paying membership," and inserting "membership in good standing."

CHAIRMAN: The Secretary has just before taking a vote amendment that the delegate from Mississippi moves the adoption of the amendment, and the delegate from Arkansas moves an amendment to the amendment and read it.

CURTIS (N. Y.): It occurs to me that this amendment the delegate from Arkansas offers is superficial. We are not sure how anybody can be a member of the party unless he is in good standing, and he has to be in good standing in order to take part in the discussions. It is one that we waste a good deal of time in discussing these amendments.

FARELL (Ohio): The matter has been taken up our time for the last time. It is already in this question, and it was so

CHAIRMAN: The Secretary has just taken the amendment in correct form. Sometimes we have lots of time, and sometimes we are driven pretty fast. I will please read.

THE SECRETARY: The amendment is as follows: to strike out of Section 1, of Article IV, the words "the average dues-paying membership," and insert the words "members in good standing."

Thereupon the question being put upon the amendment offered by Delegate Rose, the amendment was lost. Whereupon by vote, Section 1, of Article IV, was adopted as reported by the committee.

Method of Electing National Committeemen.

Delegate Hillquit of the committee thereupon read Section 2 of Article IV, as follows:

"The members of this committee shall be elected by referendum vote of the membership of the states or territories which they respectively represent. Their term of office shall be not more than two years."

THE CHAIRMAN: Any objection to the section?

DEL. KERRIGAN (Texas): I move to amend by adding thereto that the members of the committee elected by referendum shall be bona fide residents of the state they represent. That is the substance, and I would thank the Secretary if he would put it in proper form. The motion was seconded.

DEL. HILLQUIT: The committee has covered that by stating "the members of this committee shall be elected of and from the membership of the state which they represent." And if he is from the membership of that state, he must be a member of that state.

THE CHAIRMAN: With that understanding, you withdraw your objection?

DEL. KERRIGAN: Yes.

DEL. SIMONS (Ill.): I move to strike out the word "two" and insert the word "one."

This motion not receiving a second, the amendment was withdrawn.

DEL. WEBSTER (Ohio): I move that the section shall also include "that he be a bona fide citizen of that state."

Delegate Nagel of Kentucky called for the previous question, and upon vote it was so ordered.

THE CHAIRMAN: The delegate will please take notice that there are but two more delegates to be heard and Delegate Spargo has the floor—upon which side?

DEL. SPARGO (N. Y.): Against.

I desire to speak against the resolution in its present form for the same reason as that which was raised by Delegate Kerrigan, which by misunderstanding between Delegate Kerrigan and the committee has not been met. The terms of the resolution are that the members of the committee shall be elected by referendum vote of the membership of the states which they represent, but it does not provide that the member of the National Committee must be a resident of the state which he represents. (Applause.) I make that point in particular, Comrade Chairman, because in this convention now I understand we have delegates representing states of which they are not residents, and I think the point is important because we want to specifically provide that no man can be a member of the National Committee except he be a resident of the state which he represents. (Applause.)

A DELEGATE: A point of information: Comrade Hillquit appears to have it different in his reading than it is in print.

THE CHAIRMAN: I want to say for the information of the delegates that the committee has accepted the suggestion offered by Comrade Kerrigan and embodied it in its original proposition, and I would suggest to the Secretary that it be specifically pointed out wherein that change lies.

DEL. HILLQUIT: As we had it originally it reads: "Members of this committee shall be elected by referendum vote of the membership of the states," and so on. As we have it amended, it is "The members of this committee shall be elected by referendum vote of and from members of the states and territories which they respectively represent," implying that the National Committeeman must be a member of the state which he represents. It is pointed out, however, and the committee sees it, that this point does not meet the objection raised by Delegate Kerrigan. That objection is that the members of this committee shall be bona fide residents and citizens of the states which they respectively represent, and shall be elected by such states by referendum. The committee accepts this recommendation of Delegate Kerrigan and is ready to embody it—

A DELEGATE: I object to that.

THE CHAIRMAN: The report is before us in the form which it was read. If it is objectionable to you, you have to vote it down.

Thereupon a vote was taken on adoption of the section of the report read by the committee and the vote was adopted. The Chairman of the fee read Section 3 of Article IV report as follows:

MEETINGS OF NATIONAL COMMITTEE
"The National Committee shall hold regular session once a year in numbered years, when no convention of the party shall be held. Special meetings shall be called at the request of a majority of the members of the committee and places of such meetings shall be determined by the committee."

DEL. HILLQUIT: I call attention of the delegates to a printer's mistake and do not believe there. The intention was to have National Committee meet once a year. On presidential years all national conventions and no committee meetings. Two years after, in the even numbered years are congressional elections, and National Committee is to meet in years only. So that we will have national meetings,—in 1904 is the convention, in 1906 will be the Committee meeting, 1908 again the convention, and so on.

THE CHAIRMAN: If the committee will take their printed report and read Article IV, and erase the "once a year," then they will have the committee's report before them it is made.

Upon motion the section was as read, striking out the words "year." Delegate Hillquit of the committee then read Section 4 of Article IV, as follows:

"Expenses of the National Committee men in attending meetings shall be paid from the national treasury."

It was moved and seconded that the section be adopted as read.
DEL. BICKETT (Ohio): There is a great deal of injustice in the membership of the party in the expenses of this National Convention, which I have noticed, and Louisville, Ky., amounted to

four days' session; and when we go to the national convention, nothing more or less than a representation of the party, pay the expenses, and when from a great deal further distance some of these people who pay \$60 or \$65 for their expenses are allowed the munificent sum to cover a week's session. I do not believe we should pay the expenses of the National Committee men when they are at the convention, and I think the members of the National Committee can pay their own hotel expenses, even if they are in California or Maine, the expenses are enormous, and I think it is much as the national organization should for. If the committee additional expenses he can pay to the state organization the state pay for it, in my opinion I am opposed to paying the representation of this body all expenses, and not the larger representation.

DEL. HILLQUIT: I desire to state that the committee took that into consideration. These meetings you will place once in four years, and the bill from Ohio agrees that the hotel bills should be paid. I think it is worth while to have ten minutes whether the delegates shall be paid or not. At the general convention in four years is where the action being called for upon the section of the report, as follows: "The committee shall be paid from the national treasury, and the chairman of the committee shall be paid by correspondence."

It was moved and seconded that the section be adopted as read, and the same was adopted.
DEL. BICKETT (Ohio): The sessions of the National Committee men in attending meetings shall be paid from the national treasury, and the chairman of the committee shall be paid by correspondence."

DEL. BICKETT (Ohio): There is a great deal of injustice in the membership of the party in the expenses of this National Convention, which I have noticed, and Louisville, Ky., amounted to

THE CHAIRMAN: Such a rule was adopted, but we find this method is more expeditious than waiting for objections. The Secretary will read the next section.

Delegate Hillquit of the committee thereupon read Section 6 of Article IV of the report, as follows:

"The National Committee shall adopt its own rules of procedure, not inconsistent with the provisions of this constitution."

Upon motion duly seconded the section was adopted as read.

DEL. BICKETT (Ohio): I move to add the following to Article IV: "The National Committee shall arrange the rules and order of business for all conventions, subject to adoption by the convention."

A DELEGATE (Ill.): I desire to offer an amendment to Article IV. I ask that the delegate accept an amendment to his amendment, that it be subject to "adoption or amendment" by the convention.

THE CHAIRMAN: You wish to add the words, subject to adoption "or amendment" by convention. Subject to "approval" would be better, perhaps.

DEL. HILLQUIT: The committee is quite agreeable to accept it, but it does not belong in Article IV. When you take up Article V, covering the duties and powers of the National Committee, you will see that that is where it properly belongs.

THE CHAIRMAN: There will be no objections to the committee having the realignment of this and putting it in its proper order. The question before us is on the adoption of the amendment offered by Delegate Bickett.

DEL. BICKETT: I will withdraw it if it is the desire of the convention.

THE CHAIRMAN: No, it is the property of the convention, simply to be voted for or against.

The question being then put on the amendment offered by Delegate Bickett, the same was adopted.

DEL. O'MALLEY (Mont.): I desire to amend Article I, by adding, "The members of the National Committee shall be subject to removal by referendum vote of their respective state organizations."

The motion to amend was seconded, and stated by the Chairman.

DEL. MAILLY: As a matter of information to the delegates, I wish to state that that is properly a part of the state constitutions. While I believe the national constitution can specify in what manner the members of the committee shall be elected, yet I believe the state constitutions have the right to legislate as to how any of its officials can be removed; and I submit to Comrade O'Malley if it would not be better not to insert that clause in the constitution, but leave that to the state constitutions. A state may wish to delegate its power to the State Committee, and I think it would be much better to leave that to the state constitutions.

DEL. HILLOUT: I desire to call the attention of the delegates to the fact that this provision is covered by Article XII, Section 7, reading as follows: "All state organizations shall provide in their constitutions for the initiative, referendum and imperative mandate."

DEL. O'MALLEY: Then I desire to withdraw the amendment.

Objection being raised to the withdrawing of the amendment offered by Delegate O'Malley, the Chair ruled that the amendment was the property of the Convention and the question was put on the adoption of the amendment offered by Delegate O'Malley and the same was duly adopted.

Delegate McKee of California offered the following amendment to Article IV, and moved its adoption: "The State Secretaries shall be members ex-officio of the National Committee."

DEL. PATTON (Cal.): I wish to make a few remarks on this.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Secretary of the Committee on Constitution has the floor. Before you can make any remarks on the amendment you will have to second the motion for its adoption.

DEL. PATTON: I second the motion. As a member of the State Committee of California it has been my experience that one of the hardest things we have to contend with is that the members of the committee are not in sufficiently close touch with the Socialist movement to do the best work for the party and I think that, in so far as possible, the members of our party who

are supposed to look after the interests of our party should be put in close touch as possible with the Socialist movement of America.

DEL. KERRIGAN (Texas): If rule in our state that one man shall hold two offices, and while that "ex-officio" necessarily makes the committeeman while he is holding office of State Secretary, under State Constitution one man could hold the office of Secretary and at the same time hold the office of National Committeeman.

Delegate Nagel of Kentucky held the amendment be tabled; and the motion was seconded and carried. THE CHAIRMAN: Any further amendment to Article IV? If not, committee will proceed to the next article.

DEL. MCKEE: The section I just read—the amendment is laid on the table. Now, does not the original motion recur?

THE CHAIRMAN: No, the original amendments to Article IV come in as separate or distinct motions. The last amendment offered has laid on the table. The delegate please observe what is going on in the floor of this convention and then if not be necessary to ask the Chair any information upon it.

DEL. TITUS (Wash.): It is difficult to hear back here, and I to find out where we are.

THE CHAIRMAN: That is for delegates to know.

DEL. TITUS: I give notice that the proper time I want to discuss this section.

THE CHAIRMAN: What was the question of the duties of the Executive Committee, Article V.

THE CHAIRMAN: We have Article V before us yet; neither have it before us until the committee reports. The delegate will please be in order until the committee reports.

DUTIES AND POWERS OF NATIONAL COMMITTEE.

Chairman Hillquit then read Article V of the constitution, as follows: "Article V. Duties and Powers of National Committee. Section 1. Duties of this committee shall be to represent the party in all national and international affairs; to call

conventions and special conventions decided upon by referendum of the party; to make reports to national conventions; to receive and report upon all reports and actions of Executive Committee. Section 2. National Committee shall neither designate any official or

CHAIRMAN: You have the report of the committee. Are there any objections to its adoption? The motion was moved and seconded that the report be adopted as read.

TITUS (Wash.): I want to state that I have a general objection to the report of the committee. I desire to make to this article as it stands, and more forcibly, to Article VI, but it applies also to Article V. My general objection is that the powers of the National Committee are made less and those of the Executive Committee are made greater. There is a tendency to centralization of power in the hands of the Executive Committee. The Executive Committee, as far as I can see by a hasty reading of Article VI, is not subject to the National Committee at all except in the election. Then it has all the power in its own hands. Now if there is provision by which the action of the Executive Committee of seven can be subject to referendum to the National Committee, I fail to see it.

MAILLY (Neb.): Section 4 of the Executive Committee contains identical copies of the minutes of the Executive Committee, and all its acts and actions shall be subject to the revision of the National Committee. If the National Committee will look at Section 4 of Article VI he will see that all the acts and actions of the Executive Committee shall be subject to the revision of the National Committee.

TITUS: I perceive that, Mr. Mailly, but that does not say, or in what way it shall be subject to the National Committee. At least it should be a provision in Article V, because Article V refers to the subject—there should be a provision under Section 4 of Article VI that should call for a referendum and the suspension of activity until the National Committee had acted. I

lodged in the membership. The National Committee represents the membership. This Executive Committee as it stands here has too much power and should be made subject to the National Committee, which represents the membership.

DEL. MAILLY: I want to call Comrade Titus' attention to the fact that the Executive Committee, being subject to the revision of the National Committee, is, therefore, subject to the rules of the National Committee, and the National Committee can adopt any rules it sees fit, so long as they are not inconsistent with this constitution, to subject the Executive Committee to its control. (Applause.) The National Committee can adopt rules governing a referendum of the committee at any time, just as it did recently when it adopted the rule at the suggestion of the National Committeeman from Colorado that upon application of six members of the National Committee, a referendum can be taken upon any act of the National Secretary or Quorum. The National Committee has the power to adopt such rules, and I submit that any clause specifying what rules the National Committee shall adopt will not be flexible enough for the work of the committee. The National Committee should be left free to adopt its own rules, and I think it will adopt sensible rules once it gets together and the members come to understand each other. Now another point: Comrade Titus is opposed to the centralization of power. I am, too. Those who think that by my report I favored a centralization of power are mistaken. The fact is that during the past year, since the selection of the quorum whose term expires at this convention, the actual work of the national office has been supervised and controlled by the quorum. It is absolutely true that the acts of the quorum have been so satisfactory in a general way—there were one or two things that were reversed by the National Committee—but the very fact that behind the quorum was a committee that was liable to change the rules or acts which it adopted, that very fact unconsciously made the quorum more particular about its actions. Therefore, the fact that you have a National Committee behind the Executive Committee for the purpose of supervision and direction or alteration of any of its acts, will make

this country it is the publication of that paper called *The People*, and it is within the possibilities that if you give that right to a committee, that we would have a repetition of that again. I believe that this is a wise provision and ought to be adopted.

DEL. MILLER (Col.): I move the previous question.

DEL. MORGAN (Ill.): I second the motion.

The question was put on the motion to call up the previous question, and it was carried.

THE CHAIRMAN: Three-minute speeches, one on each side, are now in order. Comrade Wessling has the floor.

DEL. WESSLING (N. Y.): Mr. Chairman and Comrades: I think this is only a repetition of what we said last night when discussing this matter, and I believe that the overwhelming sentiment then was that we cannot financially afford an official organ, and if we cannot afford it, that we do not want it. And I think it is only proper that I should emphasize this fact. Now, what our opponents point out, that we may have to have an official organ, if that is true, and if we cannot have it in the next four years if this provision is adopted, then I am the last man to come in here and vote for it. But I think when the gentleman considers his position he will find that he is trying to defeat the very ends for which we are working. He is so afraid of the *Appeal to Reason* and of the fact that the membership that he seems to be afraid that the majority of the members of the party will have it in their power in the next four years to designate the *Appeal to Reason*, which he seems to fear so much, as the official organ of the Socialist Party (applause), and for this reason it ought to be voted down. I think that you gentlemen all understand that in the future if you want an official organ, it will only take you three months to have a referendum, and, therefore, I move you that the provision be adopted.

DEL. SIMONS (Ill.): I rise for information. I would like to know whether it is passed it will be understood as being impossible to have a press bureau and plate matter.

THE CHAIRMAN: This is not the

time to take up that matter. The is open to one more speaker on subject, and you must speak in or against the committee's recommendation.

DEL. HOLLENBERGER (Ind.) rise to a point of information.

THE CHAIRMAN: There are points of information permissible to-day.

DEL. TOOLE (Md.): Apologies just want to repeat again what I said, Mr. Chairman, that I do not see the National Committee should be bound in this matter. It should be afraid of the committee we are about to elect. Now, why should we be afraid of the committee we are about to elect? It shows we are afraid of our own We have talked democracy here, but we are afraid of democracy. If we trust the National Committee, we may elect, how can we trust the agreement of newspapers? How can we trust the people we elect to represent the interests of the working class there? The same kind of that we elect to the legislative national congress is the kind of we elect as our National Committee. And are we to say here to-day that members of the National Committee use their power wrongfully? No, Comrades and Mr. Chairman, I believe that the National Committee are elected will do as they think, and they will have the interests of the party at heart as they act. So, I we ought to have the power to them to publish a paper if the question arises for it, and why? I say here it is nothing personal I have here the *Appeal to Reason*, I only want the *Appeal to Reason* because there is an organization, the National Committee, excepted, that has the power to publish a paper. I know in my own town this paper has more influence than other organization in the Socialist Party, and I believe that it needs a petition.

The question was then put on adoption of Section 2 of Article VI, reported by the Committee, and the article was adopted by an almost unanimous vote. Chairman Hillquit then read the 1 of Article VI, as follows: "The

The Executive Committee of the National Committee shall be composed of seven members to be elected by the National Committee, from the membership of the party."

THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

CHAIRMAN HILLQUIT: I am

just informed by my colleagues of the committee that they have agreed upon

in addition to be made to this section.

We desire to add the following: "The

majority of the said committee shall not

be made within the city in which the

headquarters are located." Now I de-

sire to state here before we take up

that question, the reasons that actuated

your committee in making this recom-

mendation. We believe in the first

place that the National Committee as

such cannot transact the business of the

party. It is a very useful instrument

for the correction of any abuses and a

very useful and important instrument

to have here at all times, watching the

administration of business by the Na-

tional Secretary, and the Executive

Committee, but when it comes to prac-

tical work thirty-six men or thereabouts

scattered all over the country cannot

transact any business properly and expe-

diently. A much smaller committee

is required for that purpose, the com-

mittee of seven, which we suggested.

The work to be performed by the Ex-

ecutive Committee will practically be

the same that has heretofore been per-

formed by the so-called local quorum,

which really did all the business or di-

rected all the business that was hereto-

fore done. We did not deem it proper,

however, to continue the local quorum

for this reason: First, it is a misnomer,

because the business of the local quorum

is mostly transacted by correspondence,

and there seems to be no warrant to

single out those seven out of that Na-

tional Committee, if they are only a

quorum of the National Committee at

large. Furthermore, it makes it an un-

certain number. If it is a local quorum

of seven, any additional number of the

committee may at any time join and you

would never know how many men you

are to deal with, or what men you are

to deal with. For this reason we recom-

ended that an Executive Committee be

elect instead of a quorum. We recom-

ended that it be elected by the National

Committee and not by the membership

at large, for the reason that we will need

seven men of recognized business ability

(applause) regardless of the question of whether they are good speakers or good writers. The party membership at large is not likely to know any but prominent speakers or writers, and would not know of any men who may be unobtrusive, retiring, unassuming, but of excellent business abilities. (Applause.) We further provide that they be elected from the party membership at large for this reason: We want the seven best men we can get. We did not and do not want a chance to determine it. We do not want to say, as we have said heretofore, that national committee-men from certain states should compose that committee, for it may be and might well happen that the National Committee from one of those states might not be fitted for that particular work; or if he were fitted his successor might not be. Now we want to give the National Committee the widest scope possible, we want to allow them to select any men they choose provided they are party members, but we also desire to add a clause now to the effect that not more than three out of seven should be selected from one city, for the reason that it might be objectionable to give one local or one city control of an important committee like this.

THE CHAIRMAN: Comrades, you have heard the reading of the committee's report, together with its own amendment. What is your pleasure?

DEL. FLOATEN (Col.): I move to strike out the word "city" and insert the word "state."

The motion was seconded.

DEL. OTT (Wyo.): I move you to strike out the words "to be elected by the National Committee" and insert the words "by referendum of the party."

(Applause.)

The motion was seconded.

DEL. THAMS (N. D.): I have an amendment to offer to this first section of Article VI. I move that the article be amended to read: "Their term of office shall be two years, but the first time three members of the committee shall be elected for one year only."

The motion was seconded.

THE CHAIRMAN: There are now three amendments before us. The second amendment, I understand, has not been seconded. The delegate from Illinois has the floor.

DEL. CARR (Ill.): Comrade Chairman, I wish to move, if the second

amendment has not been seconded, that this be substituted for the whole. I wish to move that this section read as follows: "Section 1. The Executive Committee of the National Committee shall be composed of seven members, to be elected by the National Committee from its own members."

THE CHAIRMAN: Do you offer that as a substitute for the whole?

DEL. CARR: I do.

The Secretary then read the substitute of Delegate Carr, and it received a second.

THE CHAIRMAN: The substitute for the whole has been seconded, and I recognize the delegate from Illinois to speak upon it.

DEL. CARR: I feel that the question under discussion this morning in regard to speakers has been disposed of by Article V, by the adoption of that article, and now the question is whether this Executive Committee shall be a sub-committee of the National Committee. It ought to be a committee selected by the National Committee from among its own members. On the plan proposed in the report of the committee, these members will not be approved by the National Committee. Now, it does seem to me that out of all the members of the National Committee which shall be formed, there ought to be seven men with business ability enough to transact the business of this Executive Committee. If the members of this Executive Committee are chosen from the National Committee itself, each one of them will have been approved by the vote of his own state. They will be men who have already been approved by the party at large or by the state from which they come. The National Committee is certainly large enough so that seven able men, fitted for this particular work, can be chosen from among the members of the National Committee, and I am opposed to raising a separate committee, separate from the National Committee, to be selected by the National Committee from men who have not necessarily been approved by the party or by any state, and, therefore, having in effect two committees in a measure separate from each other. On the plan proposed by this substitute, this Executive Committee will become, as it ought to be, the Executive Committee of the National Committee, composed of mem-

bers of the National Committee who have each already been approved by the respective states. Some of these states will have two or three members on the National Committee. It will be comparatively easy to select men well calculated to hold national office from this committee, men well fitted for such positions, and so it does not seem to me there can be any reason (with apologies to the committee) for selecting those members outside of the National Committee which shall have been elected.

DEL. SMITH (Ill.): I am opposed to that amendment. I am opposed to it because it will make the work of that committee almost impracticable. We ought to have a sub-committee or a representative body in that sense, inasmuch as the National Committee is to meet only once every four years, and I submit it would be better and far safer for the largest body to elect that Executive Committee in national convention. Since the national convention and the National Committee are to meet but once in four years, it means that the business that will come before the Executive Committee will be of such importance that it would be safer to leave it to seven men selected by the rank and file of the membership of our party. I submit that should we decide in favor of this amendment it would be the easiest thing possible for political dissensions to creep in, and every time that these seven men would not want to toe the mark as laid down by the National Committee, they would immediately start a war, and it would result in dividing the party into factions. I do believe that since this committee will have all of the important work to perform, it should be chosen from the membership of the party. I am, therefore, opposed to the amendment and in favor of the original question.

DEL. STEDMAN (Ill.): I believe that some amendments should be made so that upon the request of three members of the committee they would have a right to bring their action by referendum to the National Committee and then have their actions reviewed. It is useless to conceive for one moment, however, of an Executive Committee elected by the party at large, for they could then say to the National Committee, "You can go your way and we will run this organization as we please." You can easily adjust the situation by

permitting this committee to be elected by the National Committee and giving the National Committee the power, upon the request of three, to review the conduct of the Executive Committee. Furthermore, there is another reason: Very frequently a man who has vast information as a reader and a writer, who is an eloquent speaker, will get the largest number of votes from the membership, and yet very often the men who are the least known are the most capable of filling these positions. We gain our knowledge of their abilities by working with them, by knowing their particular capabilities, and for that reason their worth can only be known to those who actually worked with them, and would not be known to the membership at large. For that reason, also, I believe that the National Committee should elect the Executive Committee as they will be in a better position to pick out men best fitted for these situations, and then by having an amendment so that upon the request of three or more the National Committee shall have a right to review the actions of the Executive Committee through referendum, we can control the situation.

DEL. BERTHA WILKINS (Cal.): I can readily conceive that if the Executive Committee is elected by the National Committee it would make no difference as far as the electing of capable men is concerned, for the simple reason that our National Committeemen are mostly not here. There may be a few of them here but the majority of the National Committeemen don't know anything more about the members of the party most capable to fill positions on the Executive Committee than the membership does. For that reason I think that all these amendments trying to fix a way of electing an Executive Committee are futile. I submit we must have, however, an Executive Committee for the conduct of the work in the national office, and I think that they should be elected from three states right close together, or four states or five states, so as to make the meeting of the National Executive Committee not too expensive to the party. Three could be elected from the city of Chicago or from the state of Illinois, and three of them or two of them from Wisconsin and one or two from Michigan, or you could divide it up as you please and let the membership either elect

them or the convention submit the names of the executive members to the National Committee to be elected. In that way I think we would get the most capable men on the Executive Committee. The National Committee doesn't know any more about men capable of filling these positions than does the membership at large, and in this way I think it would give practically the same result.

DEL. TAFT (Ill.): Looking at the selection of this committee as provided, it seems to me that it is a misnomer to call it a committee in any sense of the word. The committee is to be chosen from among the persons who vote on the committee. This Executive Committee is not chosen from the members of the National Committee, it has no particular relation to them. It may be composed of members of whom the party membership knows really nothing. Now I hold that it is our business to know and to decide on whom we are entrusting this matter to. The party itself is responsible for the National Committee and we must hold the National Committee responsible for the conduct of the affairs given to them, and we cannot allow them to entrust it to other parties of whom we do not know anything.

THE CHAIRMAN: Are you ready for the question?

DEL. OTT (Wyo.): I have not spoken as yet on my amendment.

THE CHAIRMAN: Did you move an amendment?

DEL. OTT: Yes; and I would like to speak on my amendment.

DEL. CARR (Ill.): What is the matter now before the house, Mr. Secretary?

THE SECRETARY: The matter before the house is the substitute which has been offered for all these various amendments by Delegate Carr of Illinois. It reads as follows: "Article VI. Executive Committee. Section 1. The Executive Committee of the National Committee shall be composed of seven members, to be selected by the National Committee from its own members."

DEL. OTT: I ask to speak on the substitute motion.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Secretary will read the amendment and proceed with the substitute.

THE SECRETARY: An addition was offered first by the committee as follows: "The majority of the Executive Committee shall not be residents of a city where national headquarters are located." It was moved then to amend by striking out the word "city" and by inserting the word "state." This motion was also accepted by the Committee on Constitution. It was moved by Comrade Ott of Wyoming that the members of the Executive Committee be elected by referendum; which was also seconded. A further amendment was offered by Thams of North Dakota, which was as follows: "That the term of office shall be for two years, but that the first time three members of the committee shall be elected for one year only." Then the substitute for the whole was offered by Delegate Carr from Illinois.

THE CHAIRMAN: The delegate from Wyoming has the floor.

DEL. OTT: Mr. Chairman and Comrades, I believe that the selection of any important committee in this organization by anybody outside of the masses of the people should be voted down by the convention. We have seen how things worked when men have been selected by individual representatives in a body like the United States Senate. We have created there, or the Constitution of the United States has created there, a body of men who are almost invincible. It is called a Millionaires' Club. Now while we may not create a millionaires' club, we will create a form of organization which tends to individualism. I am strictly opposed to the selection of any man without he has the vote of the party behind him, and I believe that we should never sanction a move of the kind that is now proposed. I believe that we should positively and definitely decide this question, so that we will not only have the referendum for the people at large, but so that the membership at large can vote upon important questions.

DEL. JACOBSEN (Ia.): I wish to call the delegates' attention to the fact that the members of the National Committee have already been elected by referendum vote by the different states, and that that National Committee should not be given the privilege of selecting any one but the members that have already been selected. I am in favor of

the substitute offered by the delegate from Illinois. I believe it is the only practical solution of the question under discussion.

DEL. THAMS (N. D.): In Article V, Section 1, you have already defined the duties of the National Committee and you have said that it is their duty to represent the party in national and international affairs. Now, you propose to take away the right of the National Committee to elect their Executive Committee, which will represent them in national affairs to a very great extent. You do not give the National Committee any right to annul the election of the members of the Executive Committee. In other words, you create an Executive Committee that will be independent to a very large extent of the National Committee, but still you make the National Committee responsible for that Executive Committee. Now as a member of the National Committee, I protest against that business. It is not fair. If we are responsible, then give us the right to elect them and give us the right to compel them to quit if they don't do as we want them to and as they should. (Loud applause.)

DEL. MILLS (Kas.): I wish to speak for the position of the committee, and I think that the only words that need to be spoken are to be sure that the position of the committee is understood. The effort that is in hand here in this matter of the organization of the Executive Committee is simply to provide an effective machine for doing the work of the administration of the affairs of the Socialist Party. Now I want to review the three alternatives we could pass. First, that this Executive Committee shall be elected by this convention. Then immediately the committee elected by the convention is turned over to the National Committee, whose members are elected by the states. There is a further provision that members of this National Executive Committee shall be subject to removal by the members of the National Committee. Does this convention want to place the members of the National Committee in a position where, acting under the constitution, they may be called very soon to put out of office a man or a company of men elected by this convention? Do you wish to place them where they will be responsible for the actions of the Executive Committee, over whom they

have no control? The provisions of the report hold the National Committee responsible for the Executive Committee; give them the power to remove the Executive Committee, and also give them the power to create it in the first place, which seems to me just. Next, that this Executive Committee shall be elected by referendum of the whole party. Now listen! A referendum of the membership of the party will give no fixing of this committee to those states with a large membership, because there is where the strong vote comes on a referendum to the total membership. This proposes that they shall be elected by the representatives of the various states as members of the National Committee, and gives the control of this central body to the National Committee as representing the several states, and again the same objection lies to the election by referendum. If the Executive Committee is to be elected by a referendum it ought to be subject to removal only by a referendum. How can you make the members of the National Committee responsible for the action of an executive body and then make that executive body only answerable in its tenure of control, to an entirely different group? The election by states is simply a renewal of the old local quorum proposition, only it has this one advantage, that the local quorum did not have: It makes it an executive committee instead of a quorum only for a larger committee. In that particular it would be an improvement, but again it creates an executive body in its power to remove from office or in its power to elect a successor when an undesirable member has been removed, not to the membership of the country, not to the representatives as coming in the National Committee, but to the group of the members within the immediate neighborhood of the headquarters of the party. Now in contradistinction to all this, this is what the committee has done: First, if you will read through the report of the committee, you will discover that in the administration of the affairs of the office the National Secretary alone is made responsible for the employment of his office help. He alone will discipline his force; he alone will employ; he alone will discharge; and he alone will be responsible to the

Executive Committee. No member of the Executive Committee will have any voice in the national headquarters through any subordinate. The only way the members of the Executive Committee can reach the central office is through the recognized administrative chief of that office, but this chief is made responsible not only for his own acts but for those of the employees who are responsible to him, to this executive, and the Executive Committee in its management of affairs is in turn answerable to the whole National Committee of the country. You thus have the most complete machine for an effective administration of the central office, with no possible complications of authority in the administration of affairs. (Loud applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: Are you ready for the question?

The question was called for.

DEL. CARR: I claim the right to speak on this subject.

THE CHAIRMAN: I beg your pardon, but you had the floor upon this once.

DEL. CARR: Well, under the rules I have a right to close on this subject.

A DELEGATE: What are we voting on?

THE CHAIRMAN: The substitute for the whole. The Secretary will read it and then we will have a vote.

The Secretary then read the amendment offered by Delegate Carr of Illinois as a substitute for the whole of Section 1, Article VI.

The question was put to a rising vote and the substitute declared lost, the result being 70 opposed, 47 in favor.

THE CHAIRMAN: The delegates will now vote on the last amendment that has been made, which the Secretary will read.

THE SECRETARY: The third amendment to the recommendation of the committee was offered by Delegate Thams and is as follows: "The term of office shall be for two years, but the first time three members of the committee shall be elected for one year only."

The question was then put and the amendment declared lost.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Secretary will please read the next amendment.

THE SECRETARY: The second amendment was by Comrade Ott of

Wyoming, who moved to amend, that the members of the Executive Committee shall be elected by referendum vote. The question being put, the amendment was lost.

THE CHAIRMAN: Now comes the report with the suggestion that has been offered by a delegate and accepted by the committee and the Secretary will please read the report.

DEL. HILLQUT: "The Executive Committee of the National Committee shall be elected from the membership of the party, but not more than three members of the said committee shall be elected from one state. The term of office of the Executive Committee shall be one year."

The question was then put upon the adoption of the committee's report, together with the additions accepted by the committee, and the motion was carried and the section declared adopted.

DEL. ZORN (O.): I rise to a question of personal privilege.

THE CHAIRMAN: To what do you rise?

DEL. ZORN: The reason I rise is that I must state here to the convention that I have received a telegram calling me away. Our people are on a strike at Davenport, Iowa, and it is important that I be present.

THE CHAIRMAN: If there is no objection, Delegate Zorn from Ohio will be excused. There is no objection, and it will be so ordered.

DEL. ZORN: In leaving the convention, I want to say that I hope the convention will do some lasting work to the everlasting benefit of the party, and when the delegates come home and we are ready to go on and work for the ticket and the movement, I promise them my most hearty support, and I know the rest of the workers down in my section will stand loyally by the party. I had the honor to introduce one resolution at a meeting of our organization relative to organizing, and that was that those who are appointed as organizers must be Socialists. I thank you. (Loud applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: We will now proceed with the regular order. Section 2 of Article VI was then read, as follows:

"Section 2. The Executive Committee shall meet at least once in three months. It shall supervise and direct the work of the National Secretary, organize unorganized states and territories, receive semi-annual reports from the state committees, receive and pass upon the reports of the National Secretary, and transact all current business of the national office except such as are by this constitution or by the rules of the National Committee expressly reserved for the National Committee or the general vote of the party."

The adoption of the section as read was moved and seconded.

DEL. SIMONS (Ill.): Comrade Chairman, I move to amend by adding, "All expenses of such meeting to be met from the national treasury."

The motion was not seconded, and the question being put on the adoption of the section as read, was carried and the section declared adopted.

Section 3 of Article VI was then read as follows:

"Section 3. The Executive Committee shall adopt its own rules of procedure not inconsistent with this constitution or with the rules of the National Committee."

DEL. PHELAN (Ill.): I want to strike out the words, "or with the rules of the National Committee." This executive board meets every three months and the National Committee meets only in four years. The Executive Committee should not be hampered in this way.

THE CHAIRMAN: Is the amendment seconded?

DEL. PARKS (Kan.): I will second the amendment.

THE CHAIRMAN: The delegate from Kansas has seconded the amendment.

DEL. PARKS: I wish to speak on that amendment.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Secretary has the amendment. The Secretary will please read it.

THE SECRETARY: The amendment, as I understand it, offered by the delegate from Illinois, is as follows: To strike out the last clause of Section 3 of Article VI, viz: "Or with the rules of the National Committee."

DEL. PARKS: Now I understood when I seconded this motion that this was the rule of procedure adopted by the National Committee for the government of itself, and not for the government of the Executive Committee. Of course, if this means that the National Committee shall have power to direct the administration of affairs by the Executive Committee I do not wish to maintain this motion before the house.

I ask the chairman of the committee if that was the intention of the committee, that these rules which are referred to in this last section which we are trying to strike out now are the rules for the government of the National Committee's procedure, or whether these rules are adopted by the National Committee to govern the administration of affairs by the Executive Committee.

DEL. HILLQUT: If you refer to the rules of the National Committee, I will say that they may have provisions also for the government of the affairs of the Executive Committee. We considered the Executive Committee as the creature of the National Committee, to work under its direction.

DEL. PARKS: With that understanding I wish to withdraw my second to the motion.

THE CHAIRMAN: Is there any objection to its withdrawal? There are no objections.

The question was then put on the amendment of Delegate Phelan and it was lost.

The original section was then put to a vote and declared adopted.

REPORTS OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

Section 4 of Article VI was then read, as follows:

"Section 4. The Executive Committee shall transmit copies of the minutes of its meetings to all members of the National Committee, and all its acts and resolutions shall be subject to the revision of the National Committee."

It was moved and seconded that the section be adopted as read.

DEL. BICKETT (O.): This section says, "Its acts and resolutions shall be subject to the revision of the National Committee." Does that mean the entire National Committee, or a majority of the National Committee, or what?

THE CHAIRMAN: The National Committee.

DEL. BICKETT: It seems to me

that that does not cover the ground very well; there is room for considerable discussion there. We ought to know what part of the National Committee it refers to, whether any or all.

DEL. KERRIGAN (Tex.): I move we amend the report by striking out "revision" and inserting "referendum" in the last line, so the article would read, "and all its acts and resolutions shall be subject to referendum" instead of "revision."

DEL. FLOATEN (Col.): I second the amendment.

DEL. SEIDEL (Wis.): I move to amend so that we will have another section, section 5, to read "at the request of three or more members of the National Committee, any question that may come up for action before the Executive Committee shall be put to a referendum of the National Committee." Now this would provide that only such questions on which there might be a division or a difference before the discussion arose should be taken up, and I think that would avoid the referendum in almost every instance.

DEL. WALDHORST (Ala.): I think the amendment that Comrade Kerrigan submitted will cover the ground even better than the amendment offered by the Wisconsin comrade for this reason: The Executive Committee only meets once every three months and its action will have to be subject to the National Committee, and if any of them are not satisfied with the results or proceedings of that committee they will certainly say so, and three of them can call a referendum, so it will get to a vote anyhow. We won't need anything else.

DEL. MEYER (Ill.): I desire that these words be added to Section 4 of Article VI, "and published by the Secretary."

The motion was seconded.

DEL. MAILLY (Neb.): That matter is covered by Section 3 of Article VII.

DEL. MEYER: Not specifically, Comrade Mailly.

DEL. MAILLY: Yes, it is. Section 3 of Article VII reads, "The National Secretary shall issue to all party organizations in such way as the Executive Committee may direct, monthly bulletins, a report on the financial af-

fair of the party, a summary of the condition and the membership of the several state and territorial organizations of the principal business transacted by his office, and such other matters pertaining to the organization and activity of the party as may be of general interest to the membership. Such bulletins shall not contain editorial comment."

DEL. MEYER: I withdraw that amendment.

DEL. BERGER (Wis.): I would recommend that you let the original motion stand at it is here, and at the same time accept the amendment of Comrade Seidel. The more restrictions you put around them, the better it is. The less concentration of power, the better for the party.

DEL. MILLER (Col.): The only objection to Comrade Seidel's amendment is that it is not flexible enough for the committee. Now the committee, according to the new representation that has already been decided upon, will be larger than previously. Now, then, the committee itself I believe should be left to decide the rules governing its order of procedure. You should retain the original section as submitted by the committee and then let the committee itself decide upon what manner it shall specifically pass on any action of the Executive Committee. If it is an administrative body it has the right to make its own rules, and you cannot govern its action, and so I believe the committee itself may wish to change from time to time and I believe it will be necessary to have this more flexible; it is not flexible enough.

DEL. BROWER (Ill.): I am in favor of a referendum, but I am sick and tired of this horse play. It has been worked to death. You might just as well force the National Secretary to allow a referendum on the office boy as to attempt to take all the authority away from your National Committee in this manner. What are you going to have them for? This Executive Committee is necessary for the government of this party, because of the fact that we cannot afford to have our National Committee meet every two or three months, and so I am opposed to every amendment or proposition that is offered upon this question to defeat the recommendations of the committee.

The question was called for.

THE CHAIRMAN: The secretary will please read the last amendment.

THE SECRETARY: The last amendment offered before this convention was offered by Delegate Meyer of Illinois. Did he withdraw that?

DEL. MEYER: No.

THE SECRETARY: It is as follows: To amend Section 4 of Article VI by adding, "and published by the National Secretary."

The previous question was then called for and carried. The question was then put on the amendment of Delegate Meyer and it was lost.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Secretary will read the next amendment.

THE SECRETARY: The next amendment is one by Comrade Seidel of Wisconsin, which was to add another section to be known as Section 4 of Article VI and to read as follows: "At the request of three or more members of the National Committee, any question that may come up for action before the Executive Committee shall be put to a referendum vote of the National Committee."

A vive voce vote was then taken and the result leaving the Chairman in doubt, the amendment was put to a rising vote and it was defeated; the result of the vote being as follows: 65 opposed; 51 in favor.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Secretary will read the next amendment.

THE SECRETARY: The next amendment was to strike out the word "revision," and to substitute the word "referendum."

The question was then put and the amendment was declared lost.

The question then recurring to the original motion as reported by the committee, it was put to a vive voce vote and declared adopted.

DEL. HILLQUIT: The committee asks me to present you one section omitted by oversight. It is as follows: "Between sessions of the Executive Committee all its business shall be transacted by correspondence."

The adoption of the section was moved and seconded, and the question being put, it was declared adopted.

Delegate Ufett (N. J.) then called up Article 3, which had been passed at

the morning session, and upon motion it was taken from the table.

Article 3 was then read by Chairman Hillquit as follows: "The affairs of the Socialist Party shall be administered by a National Committee, its officers and Executive Committee, the party conventions, and the general votes of the party."

The motion was made and seconded to adopt the article as read, and the question being put, it was carried and the Chair declared it adopted.

SALARY OF NATIONAL SECRETARY.

Delegate Hillquit of the committee then read Section 1 of Article VII, as follows:

"The National Secretary shall be elected by the National Committee; his term of office shall be one year. The National Secretary shall receive as compensation the sum of fifteen hundred dollars annually."

Delegate Young of Maryland moved to amend the section by striking out the words "fifteen hundred" and substituting the words "twelve hundred," which motion was duly seconded.

DEL. YOUNG: In a resolution which has been presented to this body, and which I believe will be adopted, it is resolved that this body declares itself opposed to paying speakers or other workers employed by the party exorbitant fees or salaries, placing them above the standard of the working class the party represents. The National Secretary may have duties added from time to time, but at such times he has the privilege of employing more assistants. Comrades of Maryland during the hot summer as well as during the chilly winter blasts receive for their pay \$1 to \$1.50. The teachers of Maryland during their monotonous routine of duties receive \$50 to \$75 per month, with nothing to vary the monotony of their duties, no rest for their weary brains, and receive therefor the sum of three or four hundred dollars a year. From the comrades among this class the money is derived which pays the salaries of our officers, and I think \$1,200 is certainly sufficient to recompense the National Secretary for the work that he does, inasmuch as the salary received by the members of the party is so much below that.

DEL. DALTON (Ill.): According to the reasoning of the last speaker, if the wages were to fall to \$113 a year,

we should also reduce the compensation of our officers in accordance therewith. If this convention had the settling of the wages received by the workers he speaks of the chances are we would raise it above \$1,200. Fifteen hundred dollars a year, Comrade Chairman and Delegates, is not too much to pay to the National Secretary of the party.

The work he has to perform, the work for which he has to be fitted, is certainly worth \$1,500 a year. When they tell us about the sacrifices that have to be made by the men who work for wages, it is all very true. The man who works for wages and gives something to the Socialist movement, gives of his surplus. The other man gives his time. He gives his life. I am certainly not in favor of this association establishing a lower rate of pay. Fifteen hundred dollars appears to me to be a reasonable medium between the exorbitant salaries of some of the labor fakirs and the starvation wages that some of the Socialists would like to give to the men who work for them. (Applause.) Let us not forget we have state secretaries; we have men who devote their overtime to doing the work of the party, and they do it for nothing; we have men who speak for the party, and they do it for nothing. There is a tendency on the part of some people, when they see a man get up and put in two hours on the soap-box, or sit down and do two or three hours work with a pen, to say, "Well, I know a man who does that for nothing and pays his own street-car fare, and this fellow has got a graft because he is getting pay for it." That is a foolish way of looking at it. There is another extreme, but we haven't got anywhere near it,—the extreme, of paying a man \$8,000, \$10,000 or \$15,000 a year. We haven't got to that yet, and certainly \$1,500 is not approaching it. Let us keep ourselves down to that maximum of common sense. Let us say we know well enough a man cannot be come a plutocrat on \$1,500 a year, but it may be that if you cut him down to where he would have to beg you will impair the efficiency of the organization.

DEL. MENTON (Mich.): I would like to say a few words on that matter. I believe that the comrade who made the motion to make it read \$1,200 is right. I believe that it is sufficient for our present National Secretary. If we were to increase it to \$1,500 or \$1,800 I

don't think there would be any proletarian business whatever about it. I want to say that in some of our States we are struggling mighty hard to build up our National organization to a strong and powerful body, and we are going along those lines at the present time through all kinds of hardship on the part of the comrades in the various states and territories. And if we go back to our various states and territories now and say that we have raised the salary of our present Secretary to \$1,500, in view of this struggle in building up the organization, I believe it will hurt the organization. I am, for one, in favor of giving the National Secretary—he has a duty to perform, and, as the comrade who made the motion says, if he needs more assistance he will have power to engage help. So I am heartily in favor of the motion to give our National Secretary \$1,200 annually instead of \$1,500.

DEL. KERRIGAN (Tex.): I move that the report of the committee be amended to read as follows:

"Article VII, Section 1. The National Secretary shall be elected by referendum of the entire party. His term of office shall be one year. His compensation, beginning June 1, 1904, shall be \$125 per calendar month. He shall be required to give bond in the sum of \$5,000, payable to the National Committee in case of delinquency.

"That a first assistant National Secretary be elected by the National Committee to hold office for one year at a compensation of \$75 per calendar month and be required to give bond in the sum of \$2,500, payable to the National Committee in case of delinquency. And his duty shall be to assist and supplement the work of the National Secretary, and be under the direction and take his instructions for his work from the National Secretary. In case of death or disability of the National Secretary, he shall fill the office until there is an election of a National Secretary by the National Committee."

The motion was duly seconded.

THE CHAIRMAN: Delegate Kerrigan of Texas moves to amend by striking out the report of the Constitution Committee and inserting what he has just read.

DEL. BERGER (Wis.): I have never been under salary from the party in my life, but I tell you this, that a salary of \$1,200 in the city of Chicago is not sufficient for our present Secretary. We ought not to set a bad example, like the capitalist class, by exploiting the men that work for us. (Applause.) We are constantly complaining about exploitation, and then we are trying to make a man work for us on a dollar a day. Comrades, the pioneers of this movement, the men who are sent out organizing and working for us, ought to get the full value of their work, and that is surely a great deal more than they are getting now. We cannot pay them in the different states all they are worth, but this National party is now in a position so that it can pay \$1,500. It could have paid that a year ago, and it ought to pay it now. The position of the National Secretary requires a peculiar ability—an ability which the average writer or orator does not possess. For my part, I would not want the job if you paid me double what he gets—and I could not fill it. And I do not believe there are many delegates on the floor of this convention who could fill the position. (Applause.) And I say this, although I, as a member of the Quorum have had several squabbles with William Mailly. I again ask your vote for the recommendation of the committee.

DEL. WEBSTER (Ohio): I do not agree with the last speaker that the proletariat of this country should necessarily pay the men that they employ the full product of his time, because they don't get the full product of their toil. If they did they would be in shape to pay him. But they ought to be able to pay him in about the same proportion that they get for their toil, and no more. Now it seems to me that if you make this \$1,500 you are as bad as the capitalists, when you propose to pay his secretary \$75 a month. The difference between \$75 and \$125 per month is a good big difference, when the work of the two men is almost the same. In fact, I would just as soon do the work of the Secretary as that of the clerk. If anything, I should prefer the secretaryship to the clerkship, especially with the difference in the salary. And I know that I would prefer the secretaryship to the position of organizer, traveling all over the country, through the

night and any old time, hunting for your trains, at the regular salary of \$3 a day—and if you worked all the day and all the night you can make \$1,005 at it. Now if you propose to raise the salary of these organizers to \$1,500 for 300 days' work (that is \$5 a day); if you propose to pay your secretary's assistant \$100 a month, then you can afford to raise the Secretary's salary to \$125. But I do not believe in making such a wide distinction. The class of work of the secretary is as difficult—all Socialist work is more or less difficult, but in the present movement all over our country, there is a difficulty all the time to get money to carry on the propaganda work. Now I believe that there are any amount of competent men who will be willing to take this position for \$1,200 a year—

DEL. LAMB (Mich.): Lots of them.

DEL. WEBSTER:—If the present incumbent does not want it at that. It seems to me that he accepted last year \$1,000, and a \$200 raise is pretty good. (Applause.) If you vote \$1,500 it won't be longer than you get home until there will be a referendum started to cut him down.

DEL. KNOWLES (S. D.): I rise to oppose this motion upon two different grounds. In the first place, I am absolutely appalled by the wonderful munificence of this convention in offering a man capable of filling this office, for instance like the present incumbent, the enormous sum of \$25 a week. In the next place, I am opposed to this amendment from the fact that by a referendum of this convention we have elected committees, which are the scouts of this convention. They have been deliberating upon the various questions of vital importance, not only to this convention, but to humanity. They have labored a number of days, and they have brought in their report. We have been here for four days, and what have we accomplished? If this practice is continued we will be here next week at this time. The insignificance of this movement to cut down this salary from \$1,500 to \$1,200! It seems to me we ought to be ashamed to offer a man capable of filling this position the sum of \$25 a week. I believe that our people are able to pay for what they get, and pay a reasonable salary.

DEL. MEYER (Ill.): A point of order. We are not here to reduce the

salary, but to increase it from \$1,200 to \$1,500.

THE CHAIRMAN: The point of order is not well taken. The gentleman is addressing himself to the subject. Proceed.

DEL. KNOWLES: Just one word more and I am done. Let us not make ourselves a laughing stock before the world. Let us go on about our business. Let us accept this recommendation of the men that we have selected to look into these matters, and then go home about our business.

DEL. MILLER (Colo.): Comrades, it is not a question of what we should like to pay, not a question of what a man ought to receive or the value of his service, but it is what we are able to pay. It is what contributions we may ask from the members of the Socialist Party to make up the amount we shall pay the man selected for this position, without any particular hardship upon the contributors. The ordinary worker in the coal mines of this country does not receive more than about one-fourth of the proposed sum. The worker in the metal mines of the west, when you consider the reduction for idle time, does not receive more than about half of that sum and I want to say to you that his work is more arduous and more dangerous than that of the secretary of this body (applause), though it may not call for that particular ability. But I believe that there is something in the Socialist philosophy about the fellow to whom nature has been unkind, that it pays him just as much as the man who is endowed with the highest gifts of nature. I do not believe we can well afford to pay more than the \$1,200. Therefore, I am in favor of that amendment.

DEL. TITUS (Wash.): Comrade Chairman and comrades, I hope that I shall be able to go back and report to the proletariat of the state of Washington that this convention has done everything in their interest, but I shall not be able to do that if you pass this resolution. We pay our state secretary \$40 a month, and other men are working for \$5 a week for the organization in the state of Washington. The best men are not the highest-priced men, in the Socialist movement, but the best men are those that are willing to work for no price. (Applause.) I know there is

a strong sentiment throughout the state of Washington—and, remember, comrades, that we have in the State of Washington had no assistance from the National organization of the party to this day, and we have the largest dues-paying membership with respect to the population of any State in the Union. We should have eleven delegates on this floor to-day, if we could have afforded to send them here. Only one could that organization pay for. Now, then, if I have to go back and tell the working men, as their representative on the floor of this convention, that you have advanced the salary, just as the labor unions are doing for their fakirs constantly when they get the chance,—if I have to go back and say that we have advanced the salary \$500 at a jump when we are still trying to better the working class, I shall discredit the National organization, or it will be discredited, in the eyes of the working class of the Socialist Party of the State of Washington. I ask you to be true to the proletarian instincts of this convention up to this minute, and to give the \$1,200 instead of the \$1,500 salary.

DEL. WOODBEY (Cal.): A great deal has been said about placing the office of National Secretary on a par with the wages of the working class. I believe that one particular mistake has been made in the argument, and I don't care to occupy much time. I believe that among the working classes that are working for organizations that exploit them for their wages there are very few instances in which the position required of our National Secretary where they do not get as much pay or more pay for filling the same sort of position. That is the point I make. I know very well that the average wages in the country according to the reports of the capitalists' parties themselves, amount to about \$480 a year. That is all it amounts to, according to the Census Bulletin. But I do not believe there are many positions requiring the executive ability and skill to fill that our position of National Secretary requires that under capitalists are not getting much more than \$1,500. You have passed a referendum fixing the National headquarters in Chicago, and you know that living in Chicago is entirely different from living in some of our little villages. The expenses of car fare and living expenses generally are higher than they would

be in some of our little places where we might have the National Committee. I know very well if the National Secretary was placed on a par with some of our soap-box orators he would not even get that; I understand that, but I want to say that for whoever fills the position of secretary \$1,500 is not a dollar too much. It would be a discredit to us to pay any less than that amount, in my judgment.

DEL. SPEARS (Ill.): I am in favor of \$1,500 because I want to see a man get a reasonably fair salary for the place in which he lives; \$1,500 is none too much for the National Secretary, living in the city of Chicago. No matter whether I could do it or not, I wouldn't attempt it, and there is mighty few of my colleagues along this table would do the work at that price. Further, one of the comrades spoke of what we can pay. It is not that. The point seems to me to be, how much can we exploit the man? We paid \$1,000 when we only had 1,000 members. Now we have 23,000 members, and they don't want to raise the salary.

The previous question was here called for, but Delegate Mailly secured the recognition from the chair.

THE CHAIRMAN: If there is no objection we will violate the rules. If there is no objection we will hear from Delegate Mailly. Is there any objection?

Several Delegates objected from different parts of the hall and the chair continued:

THE CHAIRMAN: The previous question has been ordered.

DEL. MAILLY: I know it.

THE CHAIRMAN: You will take your seat, please. Shall the previous question be now put? All in favor of the previous question being put at this time will manifest the same by saying "Aye"; contrary, "No". The "noes" seem to have it, and they have it. Delegate Mailly has the floor.

DEL. MAILLY: Mr. Chairman, I want to say, first of all, to the convention, that everybody seems a great deal more interested in this question than I am. I am very sorry to see a tendency on the part of the delegates to degrade the position of National Secretary to a material basis, to a question of how much it is worth in so much

money. Now, the position of National Secretary is worth nothing to me in terms of money. (Applause.) I did not accept it because the salary was \$1,000. I was getting more than that when I was elected. I am perfectly satisfied with the decision of this convention in any way. I do not hold the position because I get \$1,000 a year, and I would not decline it because you reduced the salary, nor would I seek it because you increased the salary. That is the way I stand upon the question. You can do what you please, but don't degrade the position to the point of talking about a man getting so much money for serving you. That is what I object to. While I am on the floor I want to say this to the comrades who have talked here about the hard work for the movement: Those who have known me in the movement know that I never stopped at material considerations. I would not say this if I did not believe that there might be an attempt to put a material construction upon my retaining my position, but those who have been acquainted in the Socialist movement everywhere I have been know that I never took any material point into consideration when performing my duty for the party. That course I shall continue to pursue until the end. That is all I have to say.

THE CHAIRMAN: The chairman of the Committee will be heard now.

DEL. HILLQUIT: I desire to explain briefly the reasons why the committee fixed that amount. I am sorry that the matter has taken a personal trend at all. The Committee did not have the present incumbent in view. I was at fault. If it had been a question of the present incumbent, if we had security that the present incumbent would remain in office until the next National convention, we probably would not have broached the subject. But the point of the matter is, we are by no means certain that the present National Secretary would retain his office for the next four years. I say, on the contrary, we have good reason to believe that he is kept there now against his will. Then the question arises, if we have got to go outside and get a comrade and bring him to the city of Chicago to live and intrust him with the most delicate position the party has to offer—the management of the party affairs, of the affairs

of a party now numbering 23,000 members, which perhaps within a year or two will number 30,000 or 40,000; a party management that has branched out into ten different details now and is being branched more and more,—if we place that man in a position, not only of the superintending of great works or something like it, but require of him tact, skill and knowledge; if we require of him qualifications that are hardly required in one out of ten salaried positions, where will you get the man for it, if you want to pay only a starvation wage? Now, we are told here, "Why, a hod-carrier works harder, the miner works harder, and they get only \$3.00 a day." Now, delegates, I will say right now, I am opposed to cheap, democratic buncombe. We are not going to hire a hod-carrier now, nor are we going to hire a miner. I regret that the miner has not as much honor as a National Secretary, or as any secretary, perhaps, in the cabinet of the United States, but the fact is that we can get plenty of hod-carriers and plenty of miners. But if we can get a man to answer all the requirements we have put upon our National Secretary, a man who will assume the duties of the National Secretary and discharge them faithfully and skillfully, and for \$25 or \$30 a week, that is barely enough to live on more or less decently; more or less, and more less than otherwise. I say he will then be sacrificing for the benefit of the cause. I am opposed to extravagant salaries with all my soul, because they may have a tendency to attract to our movement people who are out for salaries. But will any of you maintain that a salary of \$30 per week will attract that high class of talent required by you in that position in the National office? I say as long as we have our present incumbent in office it does not matter. You may decrease his present salary, and as long as he can remain in the office he will, but the moment you have to look for another man, and the class of men you have to look for, it is merely a question of to what extent he is ready to sacrifice. And you won't find anyone who will be ready to sacrifice that much. You will cut off the possibility of going to a number of qualified comrades and asking them to take the position, for it will be too much of a sacrifice demanded of them, and most likely you

will cut out most of those who are capable of serving in the position. The party can now easily afford to pay a man \$1,500 a year. It is not a matter of violation of principle, for we do not stand on the principle of exploitation.

If Comrade Titus says they pay only \$10 a week over in Washington, I have to say that only abject poverty in Washington excuses such an outrage. Do you think a man with a family to depend on him can subsist on that? When you give him arduous work and pay him \$10 a week you are doing just exactly what the capitalist is doing, against whom we are protesting. The State of Washington may have an excuse in its poverty. Our party has no such excuse. And again, in conclusion, I desire to emphasize that there is absolutely no personal element in the case, but just because we know that we may sooner or later have to look for another man for the position we want to provide so that we may be able to get the proper man for the proper place. (Applause.)

DEL. LAMB (Mich.): Comrades, the question before this convention is an important one. The proposition made by the report of the Committee on Constitution amounts to this: That I shall go out among people who do not on the average receive for their entire year's living and the support of their family one-fourth of the salary proposed, and that I shall collect from them their little dribbles from that small income to make up what I, a farmer, consider a very big salary. For I assure you that using the farm as I do, with the labor of two women and three men, I cannot get off of that farm \$1,500 a year gross. It is too much. I cannot ask those men to pay that sort of salary. Now, then, we are told that it requires ability of a high order. I agree with that proposition, but I am pleased also to believe that there are dozens of members creditably and well able to keep everything up-to-date and in good order, who are working to-day for \$40 and \$50 a month. I believe that, and, believing it, I favor the amendment and am opposed to the report.

Delegate Brandt of Missouri secured the floor, but before recognizing him the Chair said:

THE CHAIRMAN: I was just going to remind the Delegates that we have put in fifty-five minutes on this

subject of how much we shall pay the Secretary. I trust the Delegates will bear in mind that there is some limit to the amount of time we can devote to a subject of this kind.

DEL. BRANDT (Mo.): I am not going to take up much of your time. I am only going to say this: I am really sorry to have heard in this convention the bitter personalities, you might call them, that have been injected into the debate upon this question. The matter of whether the salary should be raised to \$1,500, or whether it should be \$1,200, will be settled in a few minutes, but before it is settled, or even after, I would certainly like to have Comrade Titus answer a question, and that question is this: What did he mean when he said, "Don't do like the labor unions are doing about their fakirs"?

DEL. TITUS: May I answer that now?

DEL. BRANDT: Never mind; you can answer it any time. What are the people in the trades union movement of this whole country—and I see a number of them who have been leading spirits in their trades-union movement for years and years, and I don't see any of them, nor never have seen any of them, living on fat salaries. Perhaps some of them have a smaller and cheaper salary than the gentleman himself. And in conclusion, Mr. Chairman, I want to say an expression of that kind is born out of hatred, or from lack of conception of the labor movement or the Socialist movement.

At this point the previous question was moved and seconded, and Delegate Titus asked the floor for a question of privilege.

THE CHAIRMAN: The previous question has been moved and it rests with this body whether you gentlemen shall be heard or whether this question shall be put. All in favor of the previous question will say "Aye"; contrary, "No". The previous question is carried. The subject is now open for discussion by two delegates, one for and one against. I recognize Delegate Spargo. Which side?

DEL. SPARGO (N. Y.): I desire to speak in favor of the motion that the salary be \$1,500 a year.

THE CHAIRMAN: You have three minutes to speak upon that subject.

A DELEGATE: I want to speak against the motion.

THE CHAIRMAN: When you get the floor you can tell me what you want—not now. Delegate Spargo has the floor, and none other.

DEL. SPARGO: I am as much opposed to extravagant salaries as any member here, and I am as much opposed to "sweating" by the Socialist Party as by the capitalist employer. I do not believe that \$1,500 a year for the support of a man with a wife and family is more than enough to obtain a decent standard of living in Chicago, New York, or any other city in the United States of America. I hear objections raised on the ground that \$40 is the standard paid by the State of Washington. That is not sufficient for a man to maintain himself and family as he ought to, and if you pay that standard or anything like it to your National Secretary, unless the National Secretary's wife will take in washing to supplement the income we will very soon have to go out of business altogether. We have no right to protest against the exploitation of workers by others and then exploit ourselves, when we can afford to maintain them in comfort. (Applause.)

DEL. GOAZIOU (Pa.): I wish to speak in favor of the amendment.

THE CHAIRMAN: The main question before us is the Committee's report and the various amendments thereto. The last gentleman who spoke has spoken in favor of the original report and against the amendment.

DEL. GOAZIOU: I am speaking in favor of the amendment.

DEL. TITUS (Wash.): I have a question of personal privilege—

THE CHAIRMAN: When this matter is disposed of we will recognize you to the question of personal privilege.

DEL. TOOLE (Md.): I rise to a point of order.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Delegate will please take his seat.

DEL. TOOLE: I rise to a point of order.

THE CHAIRMAN: The delegates will be recognized in due form. You will please take your seat.

DEL. TOOLE: I will not. I rise to a point of order—

THE CHAIRMAN: I want to say to Delegate Titus—

DEL. TOOLE: I appeal from the decision of the Chair. You shall not shut me down. I appeal from the decision of the Chair. Until I state my point of order, I won't sit down.

THE CHAIRMAN: I want to say to Delegate Titus that his question of personal privilege will be in order at any time, without any respect whatsoever to this question that is now before us. But I will not permit, under the guise of a question of personal privilege, any further remarks on this question by him as long as others who have not spoken desire to speak in accordance with the rules. So no question of personal privilege will be heard, and at this time nothing will be heard but the other delegate, and that delegate must take the opposite side from that of the speaker who preceded him.

DEL. TOOLE: I rise to a point of order.

THE CHAIRMAN: What is the point of order?

DEL. TOOLE: According to the rulings of the previous Chairman, the one who makes the motion has the closing remarks, and according to that my colleague from Maryland has a right to the floor.

THE CHAIRMAN: Your point of order is not well taken.

DEL. TOOLE: The Chair decided so yesterday, and I ask the Secretary to look it up.

THE CHAIRMAN: The point of order is not well taken.

DEL. TOOLE: I appeal from the decision of the Chair. All day yesterday the Chair decided on questions like this, that when two came to speak at the end of a resolution like this, where the previous question was asked, that the one who made the motion had the right to do so, and so all through this convention since we changed the rule that has been the custom, and I believe that the Secretary will so find it in his record. According to that, my colleague from Maryland has the right to the floor.

THE CHAIRMAN: I am not determined in my rulings by what the Chairman did yesterday. The Chairman did a great many things yesterday

that I would not be guilty of doing, and I dare say I do many things he would not be guilty of doing. But I am interpreting the law as I understand the law, and he interpreted the law as he understood it. Every delegate, in so far as it is possible, shall be heard. The delegate from Maryland has been heard—and is frequently heard. (Laughter.) The delegate from Pennsylvania has not been heard.

At this point Vice-Chairman Morgan assumed the Chair and put the vote to the convention on the question of the appeal by Delegate Toole from the decision of the Chair. The Chair was sustained in its decision by an almost unanimous vote.

Delegate Steverman thereupon resumed the Chair as presiding officer.

DEL. GOAZIOU: I am not in favor of exploiting any man in this party, and that is the reason why I am in favor of the amendment. Under the present system we have never taken into consideration what is needed to bring up or maintain a family. We say that a man who is digging a ditch is not worth the same as a man doing some other kind of work. The man receiving \$1.50 does not have to live the same as a man who receives \$5.00 or \$10.00. The reason I object to \$1,500 is because we are not in a position to pay the Assistant Secretary the same amount. I claim that if it takes \$1,500 to support Comrade Mally's family in Chicago, it will cost Comrade Oneal or Comrade Barnes or any other Comrade \$1,500 to live in the city of Chicago. (Applause.) I claim that I have just as much right to bring up my family as any other man, and to bring it up in the same way as another man I must receive the same compensation. I remember the time when the same arguments were brought forth on the floor of our labor convention, asking for a raise of wages to the President of our labor union, on the plea that we did not want to do what the capitalist class was doing; and after we raised the salary of our treasurer and leader the very men whose salary had been raised were objecting to raising other salaries. I am not in favor of raising salaries on any plea of that kind. I am in favor of paying any man whom this party employs the same rate of wages, no matter who he is.

At this point Delegate Mally arose and the Chair stated:

THE CHAIRMAN: You cannot be heard, Comrade Mally. Nothing is in order but the question of the substitute motion.

DEL. MALLY: On a question of personal information.

THE CHAIRMAN: There is no question of personal information.

DEL. MALLY: A point of information.

THE CHAIRMAN: The only point of information—the only information you can get is from the Secretary. Delegate Mally will please take his seat, and the Secretary will read the substitute.

THE SECRETARY: Comrades, the matter that you have before you is not the motion to adopt the report of the Committee, but the substitute motion offered by Delegate Kerrigan of Texas, to amend Section I of Article VI. The Secretary then read Delegate Kerrigan's substitute.

THE CHAIRMAN: All in favor of the adoption of the substitute will manifest it by saying "Aye".

DEL. MALLY: Before that action is taken, I must request from this convention—

THE CHAIRMAN: You are out of order. We will have order, please.

DEL. MALLY: A question of information from the Chair.

THE CHAIRMAN: I wish to say this, Comrade Mally, and to all who rise, that the Chair is not disposed to arbitrarily deny anyone his rights, but we have uniformly enforced this rule today, and unless it is the unanimous desire of the convention to grant the express privilege of the floor to Delegate Mally he will not be recognized. Is there any objection to Delegate Mally being heard?

A DELEGATE: I object.

THE CHAIRMAN: Delegate Mally cannot be heard. All in favor of the substitute being adopted will manifest the same by saying "Aye"; contrary, "No". It is defeated. The Secretary will read the amendment to the original motion.

THE SECRETARY: The amendment to the original motion, as offered by Delegate Young of Maryland, is as follows: "I move to amend by striking out the words '1500' and inserting the words '1200'."

THE CHAIRMAN: All in favor of adopting the amendment will manifest the same by saying "Aye"; contrary, "No". The Chair is in doubt.

A division being called for, a standard vote was taken upon the amendment offered by Delegate Young, and the same was lost by a vote of 74 against to 65 in favor of the amendment.

Thereupon, the question recurring upon the original motion, Section I of Article VII was adopted as reported by the Committee.

DEL. MALLY (Neb.): I hoped that when I asked the privilege of the floor that it would be granted without objection, but there is a delegate in front of me who has steadily opposed every attempt of mine to make an explanation to the Chairman—

THE CHAIRMAN: Delegate Mally has the floor, and he will not be interrupted.

DEL. MALLY: This is my question of personal privilege, and this is what I wanted to say before the vote was taken, Mr. Chairman: For some time I have had under consideration a proposition which would take me out of the national office, and would not require me to retain the position of National Secretary. I have consulted with my most intimate friends upon the proposition. It is a position which offers in every way a more agreeable work than the position of National Secretary. My friends have counseled me in the interests of the party to remain in this position, but after the debate here this afternoon I should feel that I would be lacking in self-respect, after the remarks that have been made on this floor, if I accepted your increased salary and retained the position. I want to say that at the conclusion of this convention I shall accept the proposition made to me for other work in the movement. I have consulted with my wife, and she is perfectly in accord with the program, and I shall before the close of the convention offer my resignation as National Secretary. I want to say here, and I wanted to state this before, I believe in the fifteen hundred dollar salary. I believe that you cannot afford to keep your national officers, whether assistants or general officers, in the position that you have. If you employ men and expect them to give their time and their

ability to your service, you must expect to remunerate them in a way that will enable them to live decently. (Applause.) That is my position. As one who will go out of office, I am speaking for my successor, whoever he may be. I want my successor to be able to live better than I have, or than my assistant secretaries have in this office. I intended to say this before the vote was taken, and that was why I asked for the question of personal privilege—so that the vote could be taken on the question of the fifteen hundred salary and the delegates could vote without having my personal self in mind, and could vote according to the principle which is at stake—which was at stake in the vote that was taken. It is a question of principle—not of me; not of John Smith, who may succeed me, nor of John Brown. It is a question of whether you are going to have men who can do your work, and whether you are going to pay them so they can keep in physical and mental condition to do the work. You want to put your officials in a position where they will be able to give themselves to the movement; where they will be free from economic worry and economic care; where they won't be wondering whether they can pay the butcher's bill, or the house rent, or the insurance, or anything of the kind. That is what you have got to protect yourselves against. You have got to enable your officials to live decently. That is all I have to say. I did not vote on the proposition, because it would be taken personally. If I had been allowed to make this statement before the vote was taken I would have voted for the \$1,500 a year, although I have had absolutely nothing to do with that proposition being in the Constitution.

THE CHAIRMAN: Delegate Titus will be permitted to make an explanation here. The question has been asked of me, and I want to say that personal privileges are going to be laid on the table for a little while.

DEL. TITUS (Wash.): I wish to say, as a matter of personal privilege, first I protest against the insinuation of the Chair that I wished to take advantage of personal privilege to make a speech which I had no right to make. The Chair had no right to make that insinuation against a delegate on the floor. In the second place, I wish to

answer two questions asked by the comrade from St. Louis, with respect to the high salaries paid to labor fakirs. I did not suppose there was a labor fakir on this floor. (Applause.) In the third place, I wish to say, as a matter of personal privilege, that any suggestion that I was talking against William Maitly is furthest possible from the truth. There is no man on the floor who regards William Maitly with higher friendship, respect and loyalty, than the delegate from Washington. (Applause.) William Maitly knows that, and I regret that we were not allowed by the Chair in a parliamentary way to make these answers of personal privilege before the vote was taken. We might, except for that ruling, have changed the decision of Comrade Maitly in reference to his resignation, which has just been presented. It is a misfortune to the party if William Maitly should resign. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: Before this incident is closed I want to say for the information of the delegates that so long as I am Chairman I shall enforce parliamentary procedure in conformance to the rules of order that we have adopted—and that method will be pursued without the slightest regard to whom it strikes and whom it does not. I do not need to say to you that I have listened to the speeches in which the personality of our National Secretary has been discussed with a great deal more distaste and disgust than perhaps any other delegate on the floor. There is not a sincerer friend, a better well-wisher, of our self-sacrificing Secretary than your humble servant who sits in the Chair. But he does not sit in the Chair as a friend and well-wisher of Secretary Maitly. He sits to enforce rules of order, and he will recognize no friend for any reason while he occupies this seat. I recognize that it would be a calamity for Secretary Maitly to be permitted to carry out his intention, and there are men sitting on this floor that owe him and this convention an apology for daring to insinuate that he is on the low level of a salary-seeking labor fakir. (Cheers.) Secretary Maitly is not called upon to resign because of anything the Chair did. Secretary Maitly was called upon to do what he has done or intends doing because his self-respect makes it necessary. What is the next subject before the house?

Chairman Hillquit read Article VII, Section 2, as follows:

"The National Secretary shall have charge of all the affairs of the National office, subject to the direction of the Executive Committee and Maitly's reports of the state organization and of local organizations in unorganized states and territories. He shall supervise the accounts of the national office, and the work of the Lecture Bureau, the Literature Bureau, and such other departments as may hereafter be established in connection with the national office."

Delegate Robinson (Ky.) moved the adoption of the section. Seconded and carried.

The third section was read by Chairman Hillquit, as follows:

"The National Secretary shall have and deliver a monthly bulletin containing a report of the financial affairs of the party, a summary of the condition and the membership of the several state and territorial organizations, and of the principal business transacted by his office, and other matters pertaining to the organization and interests of the party as may be of general interest to its membership. Such bulletin shall contain any editorial matter."

On motion duly seconded the section was adopted.

Section 4 was read as follows:

"The National Secretary shall be empowered to secure such help as may be necessary for the proper conduct of the business of his office."

Delegate Benesi (Mich.) moved the section be adopted. Seconded.

DEL. WEBSTER (Ohio) I move to amend by adding "whose salary shall not be less than \$120 a month." Seconded.

DEL. HILLQUIT: The committee desires to know whether this would include the office boy, stenographer, stenographer's assistant and everybody else. (Laughter.)

DEL. SLOBODIN (N. Y.): I answer, yes, if they have equal intelligence and ability and do equal work for the party. The delegate does not intend it seriously, but in jest. He

the office of assistant secretary

and the salary with the salary of the secretary himself. I can inform the delegates that the Secretary has incidental expenses which an assistant does not have. I can speak from personal experience, because I myself was a year National Secretary of the Socialist Labor Party, so-called, once. They paid the Secretary \$1,000 a year when we had five or six thousand members only. The Secretary has incidental expenses that he cannot present bills for to the party. You know a secretary that lives in a city like Chicago or in a smaller one finds it necessary to meet visiting comrades from other cities, and must necessarily incur expenses which may aggregate hundreds of dollars a year, which an assistant secretary does not have to incur. This is in answer to the argument of Comrade Webster, made in good faith, "Why shouldn't the assistant secretary have the same salary?"

That is my answer. Delegate Webster's position that the office boys and stenographers and perhaps the woman that cleans the office should have the same salary as the National Secretary, shows that it is not a bona fide position that he has taken.

Delegate Robinson (Ky.) moved to lay the amendment on the table. Seconded and carried.

THE CHAIRMAN: The amendment is upon the table, and the motion now before us is the recommendation of the committee.

DEL. WEBSTER: I want to amend that motion so that the first assistant shall be paid \$120, the second assistant shall be paid \$120, the third assistant shall be paid \$100, the stenographer shall be paid \$75 a month. If an office boy is hired and he is over sixteen years old he shall be paid \$75 a month, and if he is under sixteen he shall be paid \$50 a month.

Delegate Hazlett (Colo.) moved to lay the amendment on the table. Seconded and carried. The recommendation of the committee was then carried and the section adopted.

The 5th section was read, as follows: "The National Secretary and the members of the Executive Committee may be removed from office at any time by majority vote of the members of the National Committee." Adopted.

A NATIONAL LECTURE BUREAU.

Chairman Hillquit read Article VIII, as follows:

"Lecture Bureau. Section 1. There shall be maintained in connection with the national office a lecture bureau for the purpose of arranging tours for lecturers on theoretical Socialism."

DEL. DALTON (Ill.): A question of information. We have just done something that I don't understand, and I don't think anybody else does.

THE CHAIRMAN: If we have just done it it is beyond the point where you can get any information upon it. You have had the committee's report before you all afternoon, and could have asked before putting the motion. It is now too late to make any suggestion upon it. There is nothing in order but the adoption or rejection of the last clause.

DEL. PHELAN (Ill.): I move the adoption of the clause as read. Seconded.

DEL. WOODBEY (Cal.): I want to know what is meant by the words "theoretical Socialism." I do not understand it.

THE CHAIRMAN: Delegate Woodbey inquires of the committee what they mean or what construction is to be placed upon the term "theoretical Socialism."

DEL. HILLQUIT: You heard that section. I will illustrate the idea a little more. The idea is that lecturers engaged under the auspices of the Lecture Bureau shall not discuss party affairs in the various locals or states where they lecture, but they shall confine themselves to an exposition of Socialism, without regard to party affairs.

DEL. WOODBEY: The term "theoretical" is what I mean.

DEL. BERLYN (Ill.): In distinction from tactical Socialism.

THE CHAIRMAN: Delegate Berlyn suggests "in distinction from tactical Socialism."

DEL. ROSE (Miss.): I find that it is impossible for any lecturer to go out on the road and preach theoretical Socialism only. You cannot confine a comrade to theoretical Socialism. When he gets up in a local meeting or public meeting and addresses an audience questions will be asked and questions will be raised, and you cannot stand there as a lecturer of the Socialist Party

and say, "I have no right to speak on practical Socialism; I am only a lecturer on theoretical Socialism." I believe it is childish to put anything of this kind into our constitution. (Applause.) I, therefore, move that this portion be stricken out. Seconded.

THE CHAIRMAN: Which part do you mean to be stricken out?

DEL. ROSE: I move that the words "theoretical" and "only" be stricken out.

DEL. BERGER (Wis.): Will the chairman inform us what the committee means by "theoretical only"?

DEL. HILLOUT: The committee would have preferred to do away with "theoretical only." It was anxious to emphasize the fact that it was not proposed to carry on organization matters or discussions by means of lecturers from national headquarters, and that is why we inserted those words, to emphasize the idea, but we thought ourselves it would be better without the words.

DEL. BERGER: I move as an amendment to the amendment to put the words "educational" or "education." I want it understood that lecturers are not to go out and talk about this, that or the other party affair. We do not want a repetition of the old DeLeon affair. We will have it if you give lecturers the power to go into the states and use the power they have before the branches for the purpose of disrupting the party. Such a thing is possible; it has been done in the past. So I want a word of this kind in there. Besides, if we do not put it in, we are in conflict with another passage of this constitution which states that the state has the exclusive power and exclusive control over propaganda work in every organized state. I would like to have it read in there "lecturers for propaganda only," or something of that kind; or "educational Socialism," or "for the purpose of education only," or "propaganda lectures"—anything of that kind. I will make it "propaganda lectures," if that is the best.

THE CHAIRMAN: Do I understand Delegate Berger to make an amendment to the amendment?

DEL. BERGER. Yes.

DEL. DILNO (Mo.): May I have the privilege of asking Comrade Berger

to accept a little different wording of that provision?

DEL. BERGER: Yes.

DEL. DILNO: Couldn't that difficulty be obviated by simplifying this in this way: Say "a lecture bureau for the purpose of arranging propaganda tours for lecturers on Socialism."

DEL. BERGER: I am satisfied with that.

DEL. DILNO: Insert "propaganda" there instead of "educational."

DEL. SPEARS (Ill.): I move that this clause be amended to read that "there shall be maintained in connection with the national office a lecture bureau for the purpose of arranging tours for lecturers for the propaganda of Socialism." (Applause.) Seconded.

DEL. STEDMAN (Ill.): If you will refer to Article VII, you will note in Section 4, "States and territories in which there shall be one central organization affiliated with the party, the state or territorial organization shall have the sole control of members residing within their respective territories, and the sole control of all matters pertaining to the propaganda or organization or financial affairs within the state or territory." Now, then, if you adopt Comrade Spears' amendment you immediately have this proposition presented: you deprive the state of its autonomy in regard to organization and propaganda. In other words, that autonomy is surrendered to the National Quorum or national organization, and the state loses its power to govern itself. For that reason I am opposed to a substitute that uses the word "propaganda," which in substance would leave the question divided as to whether you have state autonomy or not on the question of propaganda.

DEL. BARNES (Pa.): Will you permit an explanation, Comrade Stedman? If you will just read that section you will find in the last three lines, "The National Committee or the officers thereof shall have no right to interfere with state autonomy," we will say in such matters, "without the consent of the respective state or territorial organizations."

DEL. STEDMAN: The amendments as originally drawn and submitted by the committee is perfectly consistent, but

the moment you take the substitute you have a different proposition.

DEL. SIMONS (Ill.): Section 2, Article VIII, provides that this can only be done under its auspices with all state or local organizations of the party, and arrangements must be made with them for lecturers.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Secretary will read the substitute.

The Secretary read: "There shall be maintained in connection with the national office a lecture bureau for the purpose of arranging tours for lecturers for the propaganda of Socialism."

The Chairman put the question on the substitute as just read by the secretary, and declared the result in doubt. Delegate Phelan asked that the substitute be read again, which was done, and the question being put on a rising vote, the substitute was adopted by a vote of 88 to 21.

DEL. MILLS (Kan.): Representing three members of the committee, I wish to move as a substitute for all that is before the house that the clause shall stand as it is, with the words "Socialism only" stricken out and the following added—

THE CHAIRMAN: Just a moment. In order to have that matter straightened out and adopted you will have to reconsider. We have just adopted the substitute for the whole offered by Delegate Spears. The Secretary will propose.

JURISDICTION OF LECTURE BUREAU.

Chairman Hilquitt read as follows:

"The lecture bureau shall have no connection with the work of organization. It shall have the right to make arrangements for lecturers under its auspices with all state or local organizations of the party."

It was moved and seconded that the section be adopted as read.

Delegate Berger moved to amend by striking out the words "or local" before organizations."

DEL. BERGER (Wis.): I would like to have some interpretation of the language, "The lecture bureau shall have no connection with the work of organization." Am I to understand that if this is adopted that hereafter we shall not be allowed to organize? Is that the meaning of it?

DEL. HILLOUT: No, the substitute as carried was that for lecturers

delivering lectures on Socialism or the propaganda of Socialism under the auspices of this bureau arrangements may be made primarily with local organizations. That has been followed, that was the rule adopted by the first National Committee meeting, and ratified by the referendum of the party and now in force. But when you come to organize you don't come under the auspices of this bureau. You come under the auspices of the national office generally, and it then requires the consent of the state organization to allow you to go into a state to organize it.

DEL. ROSE (Miss.): I would like to ask the comrade who moved the striking out of the word "local" in case that word is stricken out, what will become of such states as Mississippi that have no state organization?

THE CHAIRMAN: Is Delegate Berger capable of answering that question?

DEL. BERGER: I will state that there are organized states like New York and Massachusetts and there are states that are not organized, but those states ought to get in line and perfect their organization. We want to hold on to the committee; it is our only salvation. We want the states to be organized and as long as our organization rests upon 31 different pillars instead of resting on one, we are all right. Now in answer to the comrade's question, this will not in any way interfere with making arrangements with local organizations in such states as are not organized. There is a provision for it in Article XII.

DEL. WEAVER (Cal.): I think it is unnecessary. I think later on in the constitution it provides for this, and if this amendment were carried it would prevent the national organization from making any arrangements with the locals, even if the state allows it, and it would also prevent them from making arrangements in unorganized states. Therefore, I think it is entirely unnecessary.

DEL. WOODBEY (Cal.): I want to know whether it will prevent a local organization from making arrangements at any time with any speaker to speak before a local.

THE CHAIRMAN: Is any one qualified to answer that question?

DEL. WOODBEY: Or will the local

organization employ only such persons to address them at any time as are recommended by the bureau? Our local organization, for instance, in San Diego, where I live, has a speaker who is in good standing in the party and who maintains his standing in the party. Now I want to know if we can invite that speaker to address us without the consent of the state or national organization?

THE CHAIRMAN: I would advise you to see the chairman of the committee on Constitution. That is all the information I can give you. I want to say further that the sources of information open to the Chair are open to every delegate here and that you will have to depend for your information upon your own resources.

DEL. MEYER: I ask for a question of personal privilege.

THE CHAIRMAN: There is no question of personal privilege in order. Nothing is in order but a point of order.

DEL. MEYER: Then I rise to a point of order.

THE CHAIRMAN: What is it?

DEL. MEYER: I desire to call attention to the fact that various discussions are going on in the rear of the hall and it is impossible to hear the delegate who has the floor.

THE CHAIRMAN: That point of order is well taken. The sergeant-at-arms will please keep order in the rear of the hall. Now, Delegate Woodbey, proceed.

DEL. WOODBEY: I want to say that if the effect of this measure now proposed to be put into the constitution is to take away the liberty of the local organization, without the consent of the state organization or national organization, to invite a speaker that may be reputable in the party to come before them and address them, then I think it is a very dangerous precedent to establish, and I undertake to say that if that thing is carried through you can never enforce that with the local organizations. Why, the local organizations in our state could not employ their own speakers under an arrangement of that kind without first asking the state secretary as to whether they could do it, and I tell you that you may pass that if you please, but the locals of this country will pay no attention to it whatsoever.

They will employ such speakers as they usually employ, and I think that is proper. Now mark you, remember this when this constitution goes to the locals and the several state organizations, they will put their own construction on it notwithstanding what construction the committee that drew it put upon it and notwithstanding what construction we may put upon it. If I understand the wording of this section, a local could not employ a man to speak before them unless they have the consent of the state organization, and I do not think that we could enforce such a rule.

DEL. HOLLENBERGER (Ind.): I will say that we have no right to dictate as to whom the various locals shall employ to address them. Therefore, I am heartily in favor, if a local wants a lecturer, of allowing them to have whom they choose. Why, suppose a local of a state organization is opposed to a certain speaker and, therefore, the local did not want that speaker. Why, the national lecture bureau could send them that fellow and they would have to take him. Now I do not think that that is right and, therefore, I am opposed to it.

THE CHAIRMAN: I want to remind you now before we go any further that when we have disposed of this recommendation of the committee we will have done just one-half, we will have passed upon just one-half of the Committee on Constitution's work. Now, if we are going to get through we will have to have fewer speeches and more work. We will have to do something (Loud applause.)

The previous question was moved and carried.

THE CHAIRMAN: The question now before you, Comrades, is the motion to strike out the word "local" from Sections 2 of Article VIII.

The question was then put on the amendment and is was declared lost by the Chairman.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Secretary will read the next amendment.

A division was called for.

THE CHAIRMAN: Division has been called for. All in favor of striking out the word "local" will rise and be counted by the Secretary. The amendment is defeated. The Secretary will please read the next. Before having him read it, however, the question comes

on the adoption of the committee's report as it stands.

The adoption of Section 2 of Article VIII was then put to a viva voce vote and carried.

DEL. MEYER (Ill.): A question of personal privilege, Comrade Chairman: I wasn't ready for the question.

THE CHAIRMAN: I am sorry.

DEL. MEYER: I called your attention to the fact.

THE CHAIRMAN: Proceed. Section 3 of Article 8 was then read, as follows:

"Section 3. The National Committee shall establish a uniform rate of compensation for all lecturers and organizers working under its auspices." The adoption of the section as read was moved and seconded.

DEL. JACOBSEN (Iowa): I move to strike out the word "uniform" be stricken out and the words "maximum and minimum" rate be inserted.

The motion was seconded.

DEL. FLOATEN (Colo.): I move to amend by striking out the words "maximum and minimum."

THE CHAIRMAN: Such an amendment is not admissible, because it nullifies Comrade Jacobson's amendment.

The question was called for and Delegate Jacobson's amendment being put to a viva voce vote, was declared lost.

The question then recurring upon the adoption of the section as reported by the committee it was declared adopted.

A NATIONAL LITERATURE BUREAU.

Section 1 of Article 9 was then read, as follows:

"Section 1. The National Committee shall also maintain in the headquarters of the party a department for the dissemination of Socialist literature."

It was moved and seconded that the section be adopted as read.

DEL. MEYER (Ill.): I desire to amend that section by adding the following: "Pamphlets and special propaganda literature, other than books, shall be printed in all the languages in use in the United States."

THE CHAIRMAN: Allow me to inform the delegate before proceeding any further that that matter is more fully covered in section 2, and I would, therefore, suggest that your amendment

would be more appropriate under that section.

DEL. MEYER: All right.

THE CHAIRMAN: The amendment will stay on the Secretary's table until we come to section 2.

A viva voce vote was then taken on the motion to adopt Section 1 of Article 9 as read, and the motion was carried.

Section 2 of Article 9 was then read, as follows:

"Section 2. The literature bureau shall keep for sale to the local organizations of the party and others, a stock of Socialist books, pamphlets and other literature, and shall have the right with the approval of the committee, to publish works on the theoretical Socialist or for the progress of Socialist propaganda, but this clause shall not be construed as authorizing the bureau to publish any periodicals."

THE CHAIRMAN: It has been regularly moved and seconded to adopt the section as read, and I will ask Comrade Meyer if he presses his amendment to this section?

DEL. MEYER: I do.

DEL. IRENE M. SMITH (Ore.): Mr. Chairman, I move that we strike out the word "theoretical."

The motion was seconded.

DEL. MEYER: I desire to state that I introduced this amendment because I have had some considerable experience as a secretary of counties and find that it is desirous to have this literature in different languages, and, therefore, I think it is necessary that the national party in printing national literature in the form of pamphlets and so forth, furnish literature in the various languages, in as many languages as are used by the comrades supporting the Socialist Party in the United States, and that is the reason I introduced the amendment here.

The question was called for.

DEL. TAFT (Ill.): I wish to amend by striking out the authority to publish works on theoretical Socialism and have it read simply that authority be given simply to publish propaganda pamphlets.

THE CHAIRMAN: Are you ready for the question?

DEL. SPEARS (Ill.): The amendment to the amendment, I think, covers all grounds. Possibly Comrade Meyer will accept it.

DEL. MEYER: I accept that.

THE CHAIRMAN: It is accepted.

DEL. HILLQUIT: I desire merely to save the convention some work in the future. Section 2 as it is drawn now is broad enough to embrace the publication of literature in any or all languages, and if literature is required in any language but English the party and the literature bureau has the right, I think, to publish the same under this section without any special provision by way of its being amended.

The question was again called for.

DEL. SPEARS: The reason we want that in is because we want it mandatory so they will have to do it.

DEL. PARKS (Kan.): I say we do not want this thing here so they will have to publish it in every language in which we have got comrades. We do not want this to read so that by a strict interpretation of the section we may be forced to publish these pamphlets in all languages. I say we do not want that.

(Cries of "Question!")

DEL. THAMS (N. D.): I want to say to the mover of the amendment that the United States language is good enough for me. I do not see any necessity for publishing these pamphlets in all the different languages we have here in the United States.

DEL. GOAZIOU (Pa.): I hope the amendment will be accepted and I hope the literature will be published in all foreign languages. As a matter of fact, there is a great deal of literature printed on the other side of the water, but it is not fitted for propaganda purposes in this country because it does not bear on the situation in this country, and we ought to have printed in the various languages something that would bear on conditions here, and distribute that among our comrades from the other side.

DEL. WILSON (Cal.): Is the literature bureau a set of persons, or is it an activity of the National Executive Committee? The second section reads that the literature bureau shall have the right with the approval of the committee. Who is it that has the right,

and to whom shall the committee give its approval?

DEL. HILLQUIT: The point of the matter is that we have provided for the National Committee maintaining in connection with the headquarters a literature bureau, and further provided that it may publish with the approval of the committee works on Socialism for propaganda. In other words, it will be one of the departments of the national office, in charge, no doubt, of some assistant secretary who is to run it, but no publication shall be undertaken without the consent of the Executive Committee.

DEL. WILSON: I wish to say that there is no provision in this section for the nomination of such a person, or for the appointment of such a person.

DEL. GAYLORD (Wis.): The section provides for the keeping of a stock of all kinds of literature. I trust that the delegates will trust to the common sense of the Executive Committee, or National Secretary or assistant secretary. The National Committee will supervise this matter. They know about what is happening, and so I say, let us have a little confidence in the national office and get down to business. (Applause.)

The previous question was moved.

DEL. SAUNDERS: I move to lay the amendment on the table.

The motion was seconded.

THE CHAIRMAN: It has been regularly moved and seconded that the amendment moved by Comrade Spears be laid upon the table.

The question was put and the amendment tabled.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Secretary will now read the amendment offered by Delegate Smith from Oregon.

THE SECRETARY: The amendment as offered by Delegate Smith of Oregon is as follows: "To strike out the word 'theoretical' in Section 2 of Article IX."

The question was then put on the amendment and it was declared carried.

The question then returning to the adoption of the section as amended, a viva voce vote was taken, and it was declared adopted.

Section 3 of Article IX was then read, as follows:

"Section 3. The profits of the literature bureau shall go into the general fund of the party treasury."

The adoption of the section as read was moved and seconded.

DEL. HOLLENBERGER (Ind.): I move to amend that that section be tabled.

The motion was seconded and the question being put, the motion was lost.

THE CHAIRMAN: The question before us now is the adoption of the committee's report.

Section 3 of Article IX as read was then put to a viva voce vote and declared adopted.

NATIONAL CONVENTIONS.

Section 1 of Article X was read, as follows:

"Section 1. The regular national conventions of the party shall be held in all years in which elections for President and Vice-President of the United States are to be held."

Upon motion, duly seconded, the section was adopted as read.

Section 2 of Article X was then read, as follows:

"Section 2. Special conventions of the party may be held at any time if decided upon by a general vote of the party membership."

Upon motion, duly seconded and carried, the section was declared adopted as read.

Section 3 of Article X was read, as follows:

"Section 3. The dates and places of holding such regular or special conventions shall be fixed by the National Committee."

Upon motion, duly seconded and carried, the section was declared adopted.

Section 4, Article X, was read as follows:

"Section 4. The basis of representation in any national convention shall be by states, each state and territory being entitled to one delegate at large, and one additional delegate for every two hundred members in good standing."

DEL. DALTON (Ill.): I move to amend by striking out the words "two hundred" and inserting the words "one thousand."

The motion was seconded.

THE CHAIRMAN: Gentlemen, you have heard the motion and it has been seconded. Are you ready for the question?

DEL. BERGER (Wis.): I have another amendment I wish to offer. I wish to amend by adding to Section 4 at the end of the section, the following: "But in every case the delegate shall be a resident of the state which he or she represents." We have delegates right on the floor of this convention who are not delegates of the state which they represent.

DEL. HILLQUIT: I would like to state for the benefit of Comrade Berger that the committee has decided it advisable to add the following to this section:

"Provided, however, that no candidate shall be considered eligible unless he or she is a resident of the state from which the credential is presented."

THE CHAIRMAN: If there is no objection, the provision recommended by the committee will be embodied in the report. There being no objection, it is so ordered.

DEL. GIBBS (Mass.): I wish to offer an amendment, not to any particular section, but to the article as a whole. This amendment is somewhat material to all of section 4, therefore, I would ask permission to present it.

THE CHAIRMAN: If it is germane to the question under consideration we will listen to it.

DEL. GIBBS: I move as an amendment to the whole article, a new section, which shall read as follows: "The National Committee shall provide a special fund for payment of expenses of the delegates in attending the National Convention." I move that as an amendment for Article X.

THE CHAIRMAN: It seems to me that we perhaps had best dispose of the matters before us first, and then take up your proposition as a separate section or an addition to this matter.

DEL. GIBBS: I will accept the Chair's suggestion if the comrades understand that it comes up later on.

DEL. LANGWORTHY (Tex.): I move to amend the amendment by striking out the words "two hundred" and inserting the words "one hundred."

We are represented here on the basis of one hundred, and if we should have been represented on the basis of two hundred, we would have had considerably less present. If it had been upon the basis of one thousand, some of the states would not have had any delegates in this convention. I think the effect of this amendment would be to shut out a good many states.

THE CHAIRMAN: I want to say for the information of the delegate, that I have not heard his motion seconded. Until it has been seconded it is not open for discussion.

The motion was seconded.

DEL. MAILLY (Neb.): There is one objection to the amendment offered by Comrade Gibbs and that is if you have the representation on too low a basis you will have a great convention and the national organization will never receive a fund sufficient to defray the expenses. Now, I believe that the original section is all right. That would leave us just about the same membership as we have here now, which would make the convention about the right size to make it really a deliberative body. I favor the retention of the action as reported by the committee, understanding, of course, that another section will be added to cover the expenses of the delegates.

DEL. NAGEL (Ky.): I move you the previous question.

Motion seconded.

DEL. SMITH (Ore.): I ask for special information before this vote is put.

THE CHAIRMAN: I think Comrade Smith asked me for the floor, and I promised the floor. Comrade Smith has the floor.

DEL. SMITH (Ore.): In the face of the amendment of the comrade from New York, or wherever it was, to the effect that committeemen must be residents of the state before they can represent the party here, I want to know how long we are going to stay here. Our body is a moving body, and if it is aimed at me, as I think two or three times it has been, I would like to have the opportunity of telling to these delegates the conditions under which I am here at this convention.

THE CHAIRMAN: At this time we have nothing before us but the previous question.

The question was then put on the previous question, and carried.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Secretary will please read the first amendment.

DEL. SAUNDERS: I rise to a point of information.

THE CHAIRMAN: You will get all the information coming to you from the Secretary's reading. (Laughter and applause.)

THE SECRETARY: The first amendment is a motion to amend by striking out the words "two hundred" and making it "one hundred."

The question was put on the amendment and it was declared lost.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Secretary will read the next amendment.

DEL. SAUNDERS: I rise to a point of information.

THE CHAIRMAN: Get your information, delegate from Illinois, as we go along. The Secretary will now read the next amendment. Get your information from that. (Laughter and applause.)

THE SECRETARY: Moved by Delegate Dalton of Illinois to amend by striking out the words "two hundred" and inserting the words "one thousand." The amendment was put to a voice vote and lost.

THE CHAIRMAN: The question now recurs to the original report of the committee. The chairman of the committee will read this again, because there have been certain additions. Kindly give him your attention. Immediately upon the close of the reading of this we will vote upon it.

Section 4 of Article X was then read, as follows:

"Section 4. The basis of representation in any national convention shall be by states, each state and territory being entitled to one delegate at large, and one additional delegate for every two hundred members in good standing. Provided, however, that no delegate shall be considered eligible unless he is a resident of the state from which the credential is presented."

The question was then put on the adoption of the section as read, and it carried.

THE CHAIRMAN: I want to say

right here that we have got about fifty minutes to complete this report. You can see that we still have about one-fourth of it to pass upon. We will have to move rapidly if we hope to get through. Is there any other matter before us in connection with this article?

THE SECRETARY: There is Comrade Gibbs' amendment.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Secretary will read it.

THE SECRETARY: The amendment is to add one more section to Article X, to be known as Section 5, and to read as follows: "The National Committee shall provide a special fund for the payment of the expenses of the delegates in attending the national convention."

The motion was seconded.

DEL. GIBBS: Mr. Chairman, I do not know whether it is necessary for me to speak a moment upon this question. I simply want to say in justice, however, to the states that are at a distance from the convention that there is a tendency to-day when we elect only men who will attend the convention and pay their own expenses, there is a tendency to have men come here for a week's outing, a week's vacation, and that may explain to some extent the vacant seats found in this convention to-day. Now, I say that is a dangerous thing, and I hope for this reason that the convention will adopt the amendment to the article.

Upon the request of Delegate Mailly (Neb.), the Secretary then read the amendment offered by Delegate Gibbs again.

DEL. MAILLY: I want to offer this as a substitute for that section; to be known as Section 5, Article X: "The railroad fare of the delegates going to and coming from the convention shall be paid from the national treasury, and such expenses shall be raised by a per capita assessment on the entire membership."

The amendment was seconded.

DEL. GIBBS: I accept that amendment.

DEL. PARKS (Kan.): This is a serious question, and I think we ought to leave it to the states to make provision for the payment of their own delegates to the national convention, rather than putting it on the national organization. If the states want to be represented in

the national convention, let the states pay for their delegates and make provision in their state constitution and let the states take up a collection for their delegates to the national convention. It seems to me as though there were danger in this and that some of the small states and states from afar off might not get their full representation. I believe there is danger in this and I hope that the section will not be adopted without some discussion.

Delegate Saunders then moved the previous question, and the motion being duly seconded, it was carried.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Secretary will read the matter before us.

The Secretary then read the substitute as offered by Delegate Mailly.

THE CHAIRMAN: Gentlemen, you have heard the reading of the substitute. The matter is now open for discussion.

DEL. BICKETT (O.): I am opposed to this as a whole, and I am in favor of it as a part, to be raised by a per capita assessment, but I think it should come under Section 6 of Article XII, which provides for the revenue of the organization. I think we ought to carry this along and take up the question when it is before us when we are considering that section in regard to the revenues of the national organization.

DEL. TOOMEY (Conn.): I want to call your attention to this fact, to the absence of many of our working class representatives who are compelled to stay at home because they could not raise the money to come here. (Applause.) If this convention is to be representative of the working men, you must give the working men a chance to be here and not put the party above the man. (Applause.) It has been stated before in this convention that men have been chosen because of their ability to pay. If that is the way we get together in a Socialist convention, I am here to state that it is time that such a condition was changed. The gentleman from Kansas speaks of the danger which confronts us. We in our state have been fighting for Socialism for years, and the movement there is in no danger from any opponents. Gentlemen, in the name of God, give the plain working man a chance; I ask you, give us a chance to be represented upon the

floor of this convention. (Loud applause.)

The question was then put upon the adoption of Section 5 as an addition to Article X, and the motion carried, and was declared adopted.

NATIONAL PARTY REFERENDUM.

Section 1 of Article XI was then read, as follows:

"Section 1. Motions to amend any part of this constitution, as well as any other motions or resolutions to be voted upon by the entire membership of the party, shall be submitted by the national secretary to a referendum of the party membership upon the request of five state or territorial organizations, or any smaller number of such organizations having a membership of at least two thousand in the aggregate."

The adoption of the section as read was moved and seconded.

DEL. TOOLE (Md.): I want to amend this, because it does not provide for a local organization. The local organizations have absolutely no say in this matter and I would amend it then in this manner: "Upon the request of five state or territorial organizations, or of ten local organizations," and eliminate all of the remaining portion of the section reading as follows: "Or any smaller number of such organizations having a membership of at least two thousand in the aggregate." Two thousand men are too many to be compelled to ask for a referendum. That practically destroys the effect of the referendum. Therefore, I move that amend.

DEL. MAILLY: I want to offer an amendment.

THE CHAIRMAN: I did not hear your amendment seconded, Comrade Toole.

DEL. TOOLE: The amendment was seconded by a comrade over here. You seconded it, did you not?

A DELEGATE: I did.

THE CHAIRMAN: Very well, we will entertain a second now.

DEL. MAILLY: I want to offer an amendment for this reason: If you leave this as organizations, it would take too long for you to bring about a new referendum. It would mean the state organizations and that would mean a referendum of the party in the state,

and that would take too long and would hamper matters instead of facilitating them. So I move that the word "committees" be substituted in place of the word "organizations."

DEL. SPEARS (Ill.): Then does that last phrase remain, "or any smaller number," etc?

DEL. MAILLY: My amendment does not affect that. My amendment only affects Section 1, and I have only substituted the word "committees" for "organizations" in the phrase "upon the request of five state or territorial organizations."

DEL. STROBEL (N. J.): I should read that by saying five organizations that it does not mean directly the state organizations. If I read it right it means an organization in each state, whether it is a local or a branch or a state organization. That is what we had in our last platform, you know, an organization or a branch in each of five states.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Chairman of the committee may perhaps be able to enlighten us in regard to that.

DEL. HILLQUIT: I will state that in using the expression "state organization" or "territorial organization" we did not have in view any referendum. As I understand it, the state organization is the state committee.

DEL. SPARGO (N. Y.): We certainly intended to change it so as to have a referendum by states and not locals. We proceeded on the assumption that if a local desires anything to be submitted to a referendum of the entire membership of the party, it must first procure the consent of its own state to that motion, and if it does not with it, if it cannot get its own state to act upon it.

DEL. WEBSTER (O.): It seems to me that if you read this so that if you have to have five state organizations, that you will make it impossible to get a referendum almost. Now, if you would make it more locals, I would much rather make it twenty locals, and I, therefore, move you that it be made twenty locals instead of five states. Twenty locals in five or more states.

DEL. WOODBEY (Cal.): I simply rise to ask this question: I want to know whether if this is adopted, whether

a local desiring a referendum on any question, or a number of locals, whether they will first be compelled to get a referendum of the state before they can reach the nation. Is that it?

THE CHAIRMAN: No.

DEL. WOODBEY: How would we reach the national referendum if we had to get our request from the state?

THE CHAIRMAN: Your state party will provide a method whereby you may have a referendum.

DEL. WOODBEY: I understand that, but I am opposed to it because I cannot see any way that we could possibly reach the state even when we attempt to do so. I cannot see how we could reach the state committee so as to compel the state committee to request the national committee to make a referendum in any other way than doing just what I have said now. There would be no other door open, and I hope the delegates will understand that now, that there will be no other door open. There cannot possibly be any other way open to the states or the locals in a state to get a referendum on a national amendment except by first taking a referendum in their own state. It will be impossible for us to do otherwise, and if we vote to accept what has been recommended here, that is the situation we will be in. When we go home and a number of locals in the state of California or in Illinois or in New York state wish a referendum or an amendment to the national constitution, there will be no possible way of reaching the state committee except by referendum. On motion of Delegate Southworth of Colorado, the previous question was then moved and carried.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Secretary will please read the first amendment.

THE SECRETARY: The motion before the house is the amendment by Comrade Webster of Ohio, which is that twenty locals in five or more states or territories shall be necessary for a referendum.

THE CHAIRMAN: Read the next amendment, please.

THE SECRETARY: The next amendment is one which was offered by Comrade Mailly. It is as follows: The word "committees" shall be substituted for the word "organizations" after the words "five state or territorial."

THE CHAIRMAN: Is that all?

THE SECRETARY: That is all. Then there is one more amendment by Comrade Toole of Maryland, which was to amend so as to cut out the last clause of section beginning "Or any smaller number," and so forth, and to substitute therefor the phrase, "or of ten local organizations."

THE CHAIRMAN: The question is now open for debate on two sides for three minutes, and Delegate Beryln is recognized to speak on one side.

DEL. BERYLN (Ill.): I speak in favor of the committee report. The question entirely depends upon the nature of our organization. We recognize fully that the party as a whole is constituted in our national organization by states. Now a local in a state under the state constitution, when they make a demand for a national referendum, can compel the state committee to forward such demand to the national committee. When five organizations in various states have done that and the aggregate membership of such states is two thousand or more, then the referendum is before the party. Now, I do not see how we can make it any different from that or improve upon that. We cannot have our national office in direct communication with all the various locals. That renders impossible the proposition of twenty locals, or ten locals, or one local, calling for a referendum. Suppose you take the proposition of the highest number, twenty locals. We can have twenty locals throughout the United States, and their aggregate membership might not be two hundred. There is considerably less than one per cent of the membership of the party, and they can put us to the expense of a referendum by making a provision that the states in which these locals are which make the demand for the referendum, constitute at least a membership of two thousand or in the neighborhood of five or ten per cent of the membership of the party. Therefore, I think that the section should be adopted as returned by the committee.

DEL. TITUS (Wash.): Mr. Chairman, I wish to speak upon the subject.

THE CHAIRMAN: In favor of the amendment and against the committee report?

DEL. TITUS: I wish to call first for the reading of the amendment.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Secretary will kindly read the amendment.

THE SECRETARY: Will Delegate Titus kindly state which one he refers to?

DEL. TITUS: That referring to locals.

THE SECRETARY: The motion of Comrade Webster of Ohio was to amend the section so as to read, "Upon the request of twenty locals in five or more states or territories."

DEL. TOOLE: I withdraw my amendment.

DEL. TITUS: I am in favor of that amendment because it puts the referendum in the hands of the party membership and because it makes a referendum immediately effective. If you will notice section 2, you will see that it provides that forty-five days shall elapse for amendments to the referendum, and then forty-five days shall elapse before the referendum is submitted to vote. That is three months. Now, if you want to start a referendum on this plan, you have got to begin a referendum in five different states, which will take a month or two, and that is four months, before getting the referendum voted upon. Now, twenty locals in five different states does not violate state autonomy any more than our present plan. If state autonomy stands in the way of our party, then let state autonomy go. (Applause.) It is proposed that twenty locals in five different states may call for a referendum, and I think that should be accepted as a substitute, and if the matter of expense stands in the way, I say again that democracy is of more importance than expense. The expense of taking these referendums is small, but as you have it now, a referendum, which is the most important thing we have got, is at least three or four months away. (Applause.) Therefore, I am heartily in favor of this substitute.

The question was then put upon the amendment of Delegate Webster and it was carried.

THE CHAIRMAN: Real the next amendment.

THE SECRETARY: The next amendment is by Comrade Mailly, and it is as follows: To substitute the word "committees" in place of the word "organizations" after the phrase "five state or territorial" and consequently the clause will thus read: "Upon the re-

quest of five state or territorial committees."

The question being put upon the amendment, it was lost.

THE CHAIRMAN: As I understand it, the amendment of Comrade Toole has been withdrawn. Am I correct?

DEL. TOOLE: Yes, I have withdrawn my amendment.

THE CHAIRMAN: We will now vote upon the original section as amended.

The original section as amended was then put to a vive voce vote and declared adopted.

Section 2 of Article XI was then read by Chairman Hillquit, as follows:

"Section 2. Whenever a request for a referendum shall have been made as above provided, the National Secretary shall forthwith cause the same to be published in the party press, and shall allow such question to stand open for forty-five days, within which time the amendments may be offered thereto in the same manner in which an original request for a referendum is to be made, and at the close of the said period of forty-five days, the original motion submitted to referendum, together with all and any amendments which might have been offered, shall be submitted to the vote of the party members, and such vote shall close forty-five days thereafter."

The adoption of the section as read was moved and seconded.

DEL. STROBEL: I move that the time be made twenty days instead of forty-five.

DEL. CLARK (Neb.): I move that the amendment be laid on the table.

Motion seconded.

The question was put upon the motion to lay on the table and it carried.

THE CHAIRMAN: The regular motion on the floor now is the committee's recommendation, and Comrade Titus has the floor.

DEL. TITUS (Wash.): I move that thirty be substituted instead of forty five.

The motion was seconded by Delegate Smith of Oregon and carried.

The question was then put on the motion to adopt the original report of the committee as amended, and the motion carried.

DEL. BICKETT (O.): Comrade Chairman—

THE CHAIRMAN: What do you like for?

DEL. BICKETT: I would like to express my opinion upon that.

DEL. PARKS: We have something to say on this also. Here is Kansas, too.

THE CHAIRMAN: Kindly take your seat. The committee has the floor. We will proceed with the regular order of business.

Section 3 of Article XI was next read by Chairman Hillquit, as follows:

"Section 3. All propositions or other matters submitted for the referendum of the party shall be presented without preamble or comment."

It was moved and seconded that the section be adopted.

DEL. TOOLE (Md.): I am opposed to it because there ought to be reasons for the referendum, otherwise the membership won't understand.

THE CHAIRMAN: Have you an amendment to offer?

DEL. TOOLE: No.

DEL. ONEAL (Ind.): I move to amend by adding after "preamble or comment" the words "by the National Secretary or the National or Executive Committee." Seconded.

DEL. HILLQUIT: That question was discussed in the committee. We objected to the wording now proposed by Comrade Oneal, for this reason: that it would debar the Secretary or National Committee from appending any comments, but not the mover of the motion, with the result that you will get instead of the question an ordinary proposition and a string of whereases which will contain a long argument and will go to each and every voter in that shape, whereas the other side of the argument will not be presented to the voters. What we intended was to strike out all preambles, whereases and explanations, but allow sixty days for the proposition to be discussed in the locals and press, so as to have the members afterwards vote intelligently upon it. (Applause.)

The question was put on the amendment and the amendment was lost. The original section as submitted by the committee was then adopted.

STATE ORGANIZATIONS.

Delegate Hillquit continued the reading of the report, as follows:

"Article XII. State organizations. Section 1. The formation of all state or territorial organizations or the reorganization of state or territory organizations which may have lapsed shall be under the direction of the Executive Committee and in conformity with the rules of the National Committee."

On motion, duly seconded, the section was adopted.

Section 2 was read, as follows:

"No state or territory shall be organized unless it has at least ten locals with an aggregate membership of not less than 100, but this provision shall not affect the rights of states or territories organized prior to the adoption of this constitution."

The adoption of this section was moved and seconded.

DEL. TOOLE: I move to amend, because in some of the smaller states it is impossible to form ten locals. I move to substitute the word "five" for the word "ten." Seconded.

DEL. ROSE (Miss.): I wish to ask the chairman of the committee if that would put us in Mississippi in the position of being opposed to the National Committee in case we organize without ten locals. We are doing the organizing, and I do not know whether we will have ten locals with 100 members, but if we can organize with less than that, without being considered in opposition to the National Committee, though not being recognized by the National Committee, we wish to do that so as to get into line for hard work.

DEL. NAGEL (Ky.): I favor the report of the committee, for this reason: In a great many cases in the past there have been states organized with five so-called, alleged locals, and this makes it impossible to a great extent to carry on the same kind of work. Therefore, I favor putting the highest limit in the report of the committee because I believe it is wise and to the best interests of the Socialist movement of the United States.

DEL. HAZLETT (Colo.): I favor concurring in the report with regard to organized states, for the reason that I believe that those who have had any

experience in the organization work of the party will realize that a great many mistakes have been made on account of organizing too soon, not only in states, but in local places. It seems to me that we should wait until we have ten locals. We should at least have a very strong membership with which to start, and there would not be so much danger of the troubles that come up afterwards that we have known in new states organized without a sufficient membership. For this reason I am in favor of the report of the committee.

DEL. GAYLORD (Wis.): I am in favor of the report of the committee. There are very few states to be organized. It is not a question of how quickly we organize or how strongly or whether only five organizations can carry on the work of the state under state autonomy. I believe in state autonomy, but I do not believe in organizing a state until it is ready to attend to its own affairs.

DEL. GERBER (N. Y.): Although I agree with the report of the committee, I would like to know what you will do with the states where it is impossible to organize ten locals, like the states of Rhode Island or Delaware, where we cannot organize ten locals.

DEL. HILGUTH: I will say in answer to the question of the delegate from Mississippi, that there is absolutely no proposition preventing two or three or four locals uniting for common action in any one state, or different state organizations, as they please, whether it be a state or territorial committee or otherwise. But for the purpose of the national administration of our affairs they are not considered an organized state and are not entitled to representation on the National Committee until they have at least ten locals representing 100 members.

DEL. GERBER: I offer as an amendment that there be inserted right after that the words "except in states where ten locals can be organized." In the State of Rhode Island we can organize five locals at the best. We have every town organized in that State, and still we do not consider it organized at all, because we cannot get ten locals.

Delegate Woodbey (Cal.) moved the previous question. Seconded and carried.

THE CHAIRMAN: The secretary

will please read the amendments that are before us.

THE SECRETARY: The only amendment which is before the house is that offered by Toole, which is to strike out the word "ten" and substitute the word "five."

DEL. WESLING (N. Y.): It is very important that we get all the States into our organization that can possibly be represented. Ten puts the number very high. There is the State of Rhode Island, that has been referred to. It had a very large Socialist organization five or six years ago. They have cast as high as 3,000 votes, aggregating 9 per cent, and that State has been entirely demoralized. It would be an easy matter to gather 300 dues-paying members in that State, but it will be very difficult to get ten locals, because the movement will be naturally confined to a few industrial towns, and, therefore, it would deprive this state of membership in the National Party. If you make the membership in locals 100 and do not restrict the locals to ten you give every one a fair opportunity, because in the smaller States where small locals are easily organized they can carry on the agitation if they do not have to have a membership like the plan presented. Therefore, I think that the spirit of this clause of the committee report will be preserved if you make it five locals and leave the membership the same, because Rhode Island may otherwise be deprived of representation in the National Committee. I think you ought to take that into consideration.

The question on the amendment was put and the amendment declared lost. A division was called for, and on a rising vote the amendment was defeated.

The question on the original question as submitted by the committee was put and carried.

THE CHAIRMAN: The hour of adjournment has arrived. What is your pleasure?

DEL. RICHARDSON (Cal.): I move that the rules be suspended requiring adjournment at half-past five, and that we adjourn when we have completed the report of the Committee on Constitution.

The motion was seconded and carried. Section 3 was next read, as follows:

"The platform of the Socialist Party shall be the supreme declaration of the party, and all state and municipal platforms shall conform thereto."

The adoption of this section was moved and seconded.

DEL. ONEAL (Ind.): I move to amend by adding the words, "and no state or local organization shall under any circumstances, fuse, combine or compromise with any other political party or organization, or refrain from making nominations in order to favor candidates of such other organizations, nor shall any candidate of the Socialist Party accept any nomination or endorsement from any other party or political organization." Seconded.

DEL. HILGUTH: The committee accepts that.

The section was then adopted.

STATE COMMITTEE REPORTS.

Section 4 was read, as follows:

"In states and territories in which there is one central organization affiliated with the party, the state or territorial organization shall have the sole jurisdiction of the members residing within their respective territories and the sole control of all matters pertaining to the propaganda, organization and financial affairs within such state or territory. Their activity shall be confined to their respective organizations, and the national committee shall have no right to interfere in such matters without the consent of the respective state or territorial organizations."

On motion duly seconded, the section was adopted.

Section 5 was read.

"The State Committee shall make monthly reports to the national secretary concerning the membership, financial condition and general standing of the party."

The adoption of the section was moved and seconded.

DEL. KERRIGAN (Tex.): I move to amend by striking out "monthly" and inserting "quarterly." It puts too much work on the secretaries, who serve without pay.

DEL. MILLS (Kan.): We pay dues monthly. This was a matter that was discussed for a long time before the committee. It is an effort to provide the National Secretary with the material

from which he will make up the totals and make the reports which we have already voted that he shall make. It simply means that the state secretaries shall report monthly, and that that report which they are making anyway in the payment of dues, shall not be simply the forwarding of a certain sum of money for stamps, but shall carry with it a detailed statement of the membership of the state. If that is done then the monthly report of the National Secretary will show for all the states the membership by months, the increase or decrease and the growth of the party.

That is the intention. The amount of labor will hardly be noticeable, because it is provided further that the secretaries shall report on blanks provided, and it will simply be a matter of changing the totals once a month; that will be all that will be necessary. There is very little additional labor. It provides the materials from which we have required the National Secretary to make his monthly totals for the whole number of states, and gives the growth of the party membership monthly.

DEL. KERRIGAN (Tex.): It seems that there are blanks furnished now, at this time, and while Comrade Mills seems to think this will not cause much additional work, if any, it involves more; it involves going over the books and records and getting the information that is mentioned in that article. Unless he can show that there is an improvement in the method proposed over the method now in vogue, I say the work is entirely too much, to require a monthly report of the membership. I do not think it is necessary to require the reports to be made monthly.

The previous question was moved and seconded.

DEL. WALDHORST (Ala.): I speak for the amendment. I want to say about the same that Comrade Kerrigan has, and that most of the locals do not send their money monthly, but I get the money from time to time, and I guess the other secretaries are in the same fix that I am. How am I going to report when I don't have anything to report on? I think it is a pretty hard matter to keep up any way, and if I report once every three months I think I am doing pretty well, and I can't do it well even then every

time. I know the state secretaries that are here and that have the job of dealing with the locals do not get any pay, but have to do their work and correspondence at night after they work like slaves all day, and they are satisfied, I think, with the proposition to make reports every three months. I think they are doing pretty well if they go every week or two weeks and do their other work and make reports too, and then work till twelve or one o'clock, and I think they are satisfied to make it every three months.

DEL. BICKETT (Ohio): I think the delegate from Alabama will find the matter to be very simple. The only thing that will be done will be the writing of the membership. Take your local reports and you will get it once a month. I think monthly reports should be had, and I am in favor of the original proposition. The question was put on the amendment to strike out "monthly" and insert "quarterly" and the amendment was lost. The section as reported by the committee was then adopted.

DUES TO THE NATIONAL ORGANIZATION.

Section 6 was read, as follows:

"Sec. 6. The State Committees shall pay to the National Committee every month a sum equal to five cents for every member in good standing within their respective territories."

It was moved and seconded that the section be adopted.

DEL. STEDMAN (Ill.): I move to amend by striking out the word "five" and inserting the word "three," for this reason: To the extent that the membership increases, the greater part of the agitation and organization will be taken care of by the states respectively. It is true that when you have a great number of unorganized states the funds required by the national organization for organizing unorganized districts are greater than they are as the organization proceeds with a larger development and greater number of members. Just to the extent that we increase in members the funds of the national organization increase, and at the same time the members in the respective states are better able to take care of their states and organize their respective localities and districts. When we commenced assume that we had a membership of 3,000—now we have 23,-

000; but while the funds in the hands of the national organization have increased, limiting its organization to the unorganized territories to a large extent you would be reducing the amount from five to three cents have an increase of members which in the next few years will give substantially the same sum that you are now receiving, and you would have it by reason of the fact not only of the increase due to the efforts of the national organization, but through the efforts of the state organizations, which very often can use their funds to greater advantage in organized states than a national organization can, because to a large extent you are unfamiliar with the localities and the work that has to be done in the respective states. I think, though, as the membership increases, the funds going to the states should increase and not to the national headquarters. For that reason I think three cents will be better for the members and better for organization purposes and for the party.

DEL. NAGEL (Ky.): I am in favor of the report, for this reason: The comrade that spoke last upon the proposition is anticipating a large increase in the membership, but at the same time we cannot figure on that. We have before us at the present time a national campaign. This convention has also increased the expenses of the national headquarters, and you cannot run the national committee with two-fifths of that which they are at present receiving from the party. If you do that you will cripple the work that you have outlined for this national committee, and it would be an unwise move on the part of this convention. (Applause.) I want to call attention to the fact that in the last two years, with the efficient work of our national officers we have wiped out a debt that has been hanging over the party for four or five years, and we have arrived at that point now where we have put upon the national organization work that is within their province and which we hope they will carry out. They have been having a balance of \$115, or \$120, or \$125, left at the end of each month, and you want to take away from them two-fifths of their present revenue, which is \$600, based upon the average income. I believe if this convention adopts the amendment it will do a thing that is

not wise nor in the interest of the organization. (Applause.)

DEL. HAZLETT (Colo.): I would like to speak against the adoption of the amendment, not in regard to the grounds that the comrade spoke of previously, or simply in regard to the work of the national organization, but from the other end of the proposition. I believe it is a detriment to this party to encourage a lessening of the dues or average membership expenses. So far as I am concerned myself, I would favor having the dues doubled or increased in the interest of the membership rather than lessening the dues to such a small sum as three cents. There is a tendency on the part of the membership not to realize the financial responsibility of the organization. I have noticed that over and over again in our propaganda work. As I have often had occasion to tell the comrades in Colorado, there are persons who are well-to-do, earning good salaries, getting higher pay than wage earners who receive good pay for their work, and nevertheless never think of paying a dollar into the propaganda work of the organization. I believe it is the duty of the American Socialist party to train its membership in regard to its financial responsibility. We read about the German national party having an enormous campaign fund, the largest fund of any party in the German Empire, and that in instances there are persons who pay \$5,000 into their campaign fund. Such a thing is unheard of, I suppose, here in the American organization. I believe it is the duty of the party to so educate the membership to its financial responsibility in regard to supporting the party that we can build up a party of which we will be proud and that we can point to with pride, and maintain our financial responsibility instead of lessening and crippling the means that militant Socialist Party in America. (Applause.)

DEL. BICKETT (Ohio): I offer an amendment to strike out the word "three" and insert the word "ten." (Applause.) And add after the words "territory" the words "five cents of this sum to be set aside and accumulated to pay the expenses of the members of the National Committee and the delegates to the National Convention when in regular session." Now, Mr. Chairman, if you will figure up the expense

this convention has put on our organization you will find that the expenses of the national organization will be \$6,000—

DEL. DALTON (Ill.): I rise to a point of order. Has this amendment been seconded?

THE CHAIRMAN: It has not.

DEL. DALTON: Then he has no right to discuss it.

The amendment was seconded.

DEL. BICKETT: You will bear in mind that the expenses of the organization even at the lowest will be about \$2,000. It will take 5,000 members to pay the expense, on the basis of five cents, to pay the salary of the National Secretary. You will incur many other expenses that you should take account of. Ten cents to the national organization per capita is not too much. Fifty cents even for the organization is not too much. I maintain what I do for this reason: To limit the membership to those who understand what the organization is for. It is evident to any one who has been active in this movement for the last five or six years that we have a great many in our organization who do not realize the responsibilities of the organization or of Socialism; who do not understand the first principles. They are attracted to the movement by the hypnotic word Socialism, and they come in in a hurry, and to maintain our existence our officers have got to be expert hypnotists, you might say. They have to draft their letters and communications to the locals and to the membership in a hypnotic form to draw them on, and I am opposed to that. I would sooner see a membership of 10,000 Socialists paying fifty cents a month dues, and have a good, strong militant organization, than have an organization of 50,000 members with about one hundred spellbinders to keep them in line. If you build it on small dues you will need the spellbinders, and that will destroy the compactness of your organization. You will have members following leaders and have factional fights. But when you build up an organization with every man realizing that when he joins it he is joining something, then you have got an organization. If he don't want to pay fifty cents a month, then he can go to work for Socialism and vote for it and hurrah, but we want members